AKWESASNE NOTES

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Early Summer, 1975

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A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

James Bay
Brazil
Pine Ridge
Kickapoo
Ohlone
Kenora
British Columbia
Northern Cheyenne
Farmington

"Brothers, Sisters, The Spring
Has Come; The Earth Has
Received The Embraces
Of The Sun And We Shall
Soon See The Results
Of That Love!

Every Seed Is Awakened
And So Has All Animal Life.
It Is Through This
Mysterious Power That We
Too Have Our Being And
We Therefore Yield To
Our Neighbors, Even Our
Animal Neighbors, The
Same Right As Ourselves,
To Inhabit This Land."

——— Tatanka Yotanka

Pauline K. Pershing 5/3
1741 Peachtree Lane
Norristown, Pennsylvania 19401

How It Is With Us

Planting seeds, our holy men say, is an act of faith in the Creation. We renewed that faith this spring, planting a variety of gardens for food for winter storage. We are grateful to the many people who sent us seeds – the food which will grow from them will become a part of us, and our energy to to our work.

Some of the gardens were planted in the European style – long rows. Others were made into wide beds – an old way now referred to as "biodynamic". Some seeds were planted in untilled soil into a hole made by a stick. We planted seeds that we brought back from our Mayan relatives in Guatemala, hopeful that the corn and beans from the mountains there will like our land here, and will make more seed which can be shared.

For those of us who travelled much of last year to raise funds for our efforts and to learn and share with the thousands of people we met with, this is time to wipe the blur of the highways from our eyes and to unwind and work together with those who stayed at home to keep things going here. There is still a big pile of letters to answer, work to do on other publications we hope to get out, preparations to make for next year's travels, repairs to do.

Soon it will be time for strawberries to be ripe here – time to give thanks to the Creation that we have lived another cycle to taste strawberries again, thanksgiving to the berries for following their Original Instructions to feed their relatives on this land.

Next Autumn, the AKWESASNE NOTES/White Roots of Peace travelling group will be visiting various college campuses and prison groups on an itinerary taking them to Washington, Oregon, and California, as well as Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota.

We are always glad to meet our friends as we travel. We are glad too for invitations to meet with people along the way – we have a film festival, speakers, crafts display, medicine people – it is always good to have a place just to rest and get caught up on our own work. People who want us to stop by are invited to write or telephone us at (518) 358-4697.

We are particularly anxious to hear from people who can help arrange programs on college campuses where an honorarium from academic or student activities monies can be paid out to help us with the costs of getting the paper out, and to make travels elsewhere possible. We also need to hear from prison groups, urban centers, reservations and communities with whom we can meet to share ideas, spiritual strength, and support.

For this and future trips, people are needed to further the work of the group – those who follow and defend the traditions of their people, who uphold the Great Law of Peace, and who can participate as members of a group either with skills as speaker, craftsman, singer, etc., or young people learning those skills. We need people who are writers, photographers, artists, poets to create materials for publication.

Where possible, travellers should come to Akwesasne to work with the group even before the trip begins to assist with preparations. Already, a number of people have indicated they will be in the autumn trip: Philip Deere, Muskogee medicine person and an American Indian Movement spiritual leader; Rarihokwats, editor of NOTES; Vernon Syrette, Anishnawbe Crane Clan from Northern Ontario; Juan Reyna, Aztec artist and poet; Coyote of the Ylaki people and Tsewaa from Tewa Nation at Tesuque Pueblo.

Perhaps if you know of people who can and should be travelling with the group, you might suggest that they contact us. If you yourself are interested in travelling, please call or write AKWESASNE NOTES.

The tentative schedule for next Autumn:

Sept. 18: Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Sept. 20-27: Minnesota & North Dakota.
Sept. 28-3:South Dakota & Montana
Oct. 4-10: Washington State
Oct. 11-14: Oregon
Oct. 15-31: California
Nov. 1-4 Wyoming
Nov. 5-15: Colorado

Plans are still tentative, but plans are for travel into Guatemala again in January, and through the Southeast U.S. – Florida, North & South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee – in February. Next spring, there is likelihood of travel in New England, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Great Lakes states, Midwest, Missouri, Oklahoma.

White Roots of Peace/AKWESASNE NOTES is exploring the use of theatre to further consciousness-raising among both native and non-native peoples. A touring group would travel throughout North America to produce a drama based on the siege on Wounded Knee 1973 including dialogue and involvement of the audience. We are interested in hearing from actors, actresses, and those who would like dramatic training who would be interested in participating. Contact: Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. Persons of all ages are invited to consider this.

AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

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And if for some reason you're getting two copies and need only one, please send us BOTH address labels so we can find the duplication.

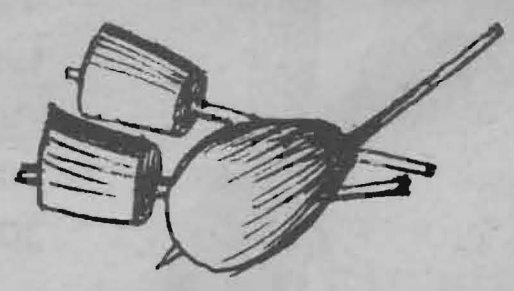
DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page – check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry – this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month it is many of those whose zip codes begin with "5" and a few Illinois people, plus Manitoba and some foreign nations who are "red-labelled". ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although it might be a good time to renew your support.

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Kahere hare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird & Dorothy Ann, Mickey Posluns, Louis & Lang of the tape crew, Vernon of Anishnabeg Crane Clan, Juan Reyna & Juanito & 'Kota, Jane George, Rokwaho, Curt the Cherokee, Lance Day, Karla & Howard, Diane, Herb & Joanne of Springtee, Susie Boots, Coleen, Dean George, and we hear Sheila Smoke is coming back.



We are very grateful to all our friends who have sent us books, magazines, documents, and equipment of value to enable us to do our work. This material aid is not only indicative of the political and moral support we receive from friends in nations all over the world, but it gives us the strength and encouragement to continue our task.

The World Council of Churches has allocated grants to 19 organizations fighting racism, including liberation movements in Rhodesia and South Africa, and to AKWESASNE NOTES. The funds will come from the Council's Special Fund to Combat Racism, a program that has come under continued attack for its alleged support of African guerrilla enterprises. Other North American groups to receive grants were the American Indian Movement and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in the United States.

The NOTES grant will enable us to begin a special series of publications, including a number of 24-page pamphlets on "The Best of Akwesasne Notes" which will be useful in schools, churches, reservation groups, and for individual reading.

We are grateful to those who have caused this support of our efforts to come about.

NEEDED FOR NOTES

– art supplies: silva oils, acrylics, inks, color collage paper, canvas, stretchers, brushes, knives, acto tools, art instruction books, etc.

– used foreign stamps
– snowshoes, tobogans, sleds
– maple syrup equipment
– a ditto machine
– a large de-humidifier
– fishing equipment
– used tarps, canvas, rugs

Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. Date and identify all clippings.

send us your own materials – articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists – we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper – native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check at your local city, county, community, university, high school LIBRARIES to see if they have a paid subscription to NOTES. If they don't, suggest that they get one. Suggest too that they order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials.

form a committee – or go by yourself – to check bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops. If they don't know about our books, crafts, or smoking mixtures, tell them to write – or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create alternatives, to inform. NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

The Hunters

I watched my brothers
uncles to my children
prepare to hunt tonight.

No smoke to consecrate the act,
No greasepaint stroked strongly on the faces.
They could not speak to us of it,
We women who did not trill upon their exit,

They accepted no advice or caution
for now we were only non-participants
in the bloody act.
No stalking this night
quiet through the forest depths.
No listening for the herd's nightly grazing
No bows strung well
No arrows sharpened
Just those ugly, gently stroked and oiled
rifles.
They go to moonlight.
They go to poach,
To eat, they say, full-bellied from
their supper.

I am sad for them
(though grateful for fresh meat)
for they go stripped
as I go marketing
instead of berry-picking
by the river.

— Morning Star

Government School

"Mr. Wilson is a fool,"
thought I in the Government School.
"The A.I.M. is bad,"
said the teacher of the Government School.
"Gerald Ford makes me mad,"
thought I in the Government School.
"The B.I.A. is for your own good,"
said the teacher of the Government School.
"Sitting Bull is a great chief,"
thought I in the Government School.
"General Custer was murdered in cold blood,"
said the teacher of the Government School.
"I pray to the Great Spirit and to you alone,"
thought I in the Government School.
"Jesus only can forgive your sins,"
said the teacher of the Government School.
"Humans are here to marvel at the universe,"
thought I in the Government School.
"The human race will conquer!"
said the teacher of the Government School.
And you know, they almost pulled it off.

— Denise Jamie Dion

Love, Grandma

Gently traced,
this hand of bark-dry grooves
lies on fels naptha sheets
not a sacred relic
but a legacy of strength.

its last will and testament reads:

that when she delivered him
into the gentle hands of the shaman
she asked for his moccasins
so he couldn't leave without her.

they laughed together
but he left and walked
the cold journey alone,
and she bore the weight
of the family tree.

now as i sit in haunched acceptance
i feel my share of the future
descend from those hands so,

gently traced.

— Lois Bissell Jircitano

We Who Were Born

We who were born
In village places
Far from cities
And shifting faces,
We have a birthright
No *lady can sell*
And a secret joy
No *lady can tell*
For we are special
to lordly things
The sweet Bird's flight and the
Eagle's wings
The pike and
The Salmon
The cat and
the dog and
The baby's cries
And the sweet
smell of meat
Pride of trees
Swiftness of
Streams magic
Of frost have
Shaped our dreams
Their spirit fills
Who walk by right
On the hills filled
Within the World
Love.

— Delores Clayton
age 11, New Aiyansh, B.C.

POETRY
gently traced.....

waking up thoughts

a small gentle kicking awakens me at dawn
my little one beside me, tired from the evening's work
chasing fireflies and snakedoctors in his sleep
now breathing in my time, as before birth
now a once, twice smile, shuddering as young ones do
warming my blanket, changing my dreams with his crawling
taking me from cold death-caves to yellow medicine-flower fields

my little son, destiny boy-child
"give me a boy," said my man, "on my father's day"
and it happened that way without effort
but before his black eyes lost their newborn glaze
his belly felt the white man's doctor knife
carving an early sterile scarring mark to last a lifetime
soon, after learning to stand on two feet, then to balance on one foot,
his legs began to quiver as the foul air invaded his chest
fumes from the below garage rising in search of young bodies,
leaving one nightworker dead, another mechanic purple-faced and foaming
then, later, the corner city crashing of cars
before he had anything to say for himself

last night we grown-ups told old stories and new tales of near misses
we drank day-old coffee and watched smoke and sadness fill the air
i saw her dry eyes form the words her mouth could not release
her knowing and forgetting eyes saw a certain kinship
in our shaking, working, living, and dying-hard hands

Lakota woman, sister-friend, once-wife of my brother,
i mourn your little one, burning in a closet in Kyle,
putting her clothes out with her hands, too stunned to cry out
i mourn your little one, living for so long after, her tiny body blackened
then dying, just when there was hope, they said

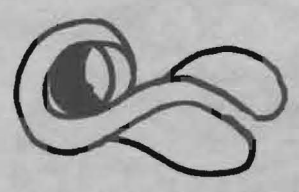
Lakota woman, mother-daughter, once and now family of mine,
i mourn your memories of fire, of charred hands
i mourn your todays of gunfire, of fear and threats
i know you show these midnight tears because they were absent at her feast
your broken nose making tears the more painful, an accident, they said

Lakota woman, sister in sorrow, now and then friend of mine,
it is fortunate for the fine and upstanding,
those masters of cheap shots and shell games,
that flaming bodies and bloody faces leave no traces of fingerprints

Lakota woman, my little ones are yours this hour until you are stronger
or until they no longer need us in that sweet, holding-on way
let's rest today, tomorrow you must find your own way home
to the other small ones, eating beans for breakfast, over half-a-world away
right under the noses of good fathers and mothers who look out for their own
tomorrow we will have bigger concerns, tonight we will think of ourselves
tomorrow we will worry about a way to find water that is free of typhoid
on the next tomorrow we will worry about how the air will be rationed
then, onthe day after that tomorrow, who will have compassion
for my sleeping one, this gift of the sun?

— suzan shown harjo

you are earth & rain
wind & flame



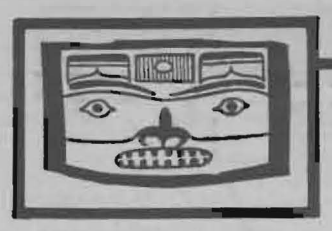
IN THE SHALLOWS

I have had tomorrow
Stripped from
My soul,
When all seemed
Certain,
The future
No longer clutters
My mind,
Because there is
None.
Buried like
A dog's old bone
Discarded
To be dug
At leisure
At their convenience,
You didn't fit
The scheme
Of things,
The shallows have overtaken the
dreams.

— Barbara Booth

I feel the child cry
from in my womb.
Hold him on my back, I dream
warm in beads and leather
Rock him
swinging
on a pine
straight, the poles of my lodge
red stars on the summer sky
Then he comes
and goes
walking concrete
touching steel
OH!
to hold him in until
the earth is whole again.

— Long-Neck Woman



Chilliwack, British Columbia – The native people of Canada are declaring their independence.

The way the Canadian Government has maintained tight reins is through neo-colonial funding. But at this year's Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs annual conference here in April, it was unanimously decided that B.C. native people will reject all funds – welfare, education, housing, land claims research, band administration costs.

There will be no more honoraria paid to chiefs and councillors, no more salaries for band managers and secretaries. The UBCIC Land Claims Research Centre in Victoria has been closed down.

Native people would no longer endure the paternalistic control, the suppression, and the division of their people by the Department of Indian Affairs [DIA], the conference resolved.

No salaries does not mean no work, it was pointed out. Instead of a few land claims researchers, now there can be thousands – every native person. The people are talking about returning to living off the land, hunting, fishing, gardening, gathering.

Equally as important is the feeling about returning to sharing, exchanging, taking care of one another, traditional education of children by their families and the old people.

The native people at the UBCIC conference agreed to abandon the artificial divisions created by the Government: there is no such thing as a "non-status" Indian any more in British Columbia. Both UBCIC and BCANSI [B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians] announced they were immediately phasing themselves out of existance.

Many of those at the Chilliwack conference said it was the most emotional meeting they had ever been to. Usually the meetings are staid, Roberts-Rules-Of-Order affairs, conducted by people in coats and ties. This time dancers, singers, drummers appeared, reminding people of their Indianness. The meeting was conducted in traditional fashion.

Speaker after speaker choked back tears. "I have been chief of my band for twelve years and this was the first time I have truly been able to be proud of my people," one man said.

Some of this feeling was transmitted back to the reserves. "For the first time, families are talking to each other," some reported. Others observed that enemies and rivals of many years are embracing one another in friendship.

More important, leaders were talking with their people. "You can forget that there are people suffering when you are getting $18,000 a year, a 1268-square-foot house, a big color TV and a nice car," Phillip Paul told one meeting. "It's so bloody easy to forget, to get on all these ego trips, attending all these conferences, discussing Indian poverty with [Prime Minister] Trudeau over a steak dinner. I thought it was a pretty good deal, to get all that money for shuffling a few papers and attending a lot of meetings. But now I am unemployed and don't know where my next meal is coming from – it is the greatest freedom I have ever known. I have never been happier. *No one* can be exempt from the hardship our people must face – and that includes the 10% of the Indian people who are called 'successful'."

The Chilliwack meeting was in sharp contrast to the last annual UBCIC meet. There one observer said leaders "fought like a pack of dogs over a piece of meat" trying to get more housing money, causing bitterness which was thinly suppressed by Roberts Rules of Order.

Native leaders in B.C. predict the move will eventually sweep other provinces and nations. In fact, they say this may ultimately have a very profound effect on white people and their relationship with their government and their ways of life.

It was evident at Chilliwack that plans for civil disobedience was not confined to a few "militants." The chiefs announced: "We will break laws."

Only 5% of mountainous British Columbia is considered good crop land. The native people were abundantly provided for, however, with animals, fish, and wild plants. But these require knowledge which many people have forgotten. In many places, too, the animals have been disappearing in the wake of white trophy hunters and "development" such as logging. The provincial government has not only refused consistently to acknowledge aboriginal title to British Columbia – nearly all of which was never surrendered in any way – but also has refused to recognize aboriginal hunting and fishing rights.

Now, with no more welfare money to come in, the right to hunt and fish becomes truly critical, a matter of life or death. At Chilliwack, the freedom of native people from Canadian laws denying them basic rights was emphatically reaffirmed.

B.C. Moves Into Movement Leadership

The task before B.C. natives is an awesome one – and yet they dare not fail. 188 communities of people with inadequate land-bases, partially destroyed cultures and deteriorating social structures, with demoralised and often alcoholic members who have never known anything but welfare – overnight, it was resolved, this must be changed to self-sufficiency, cooperation, and freedom from dependence on money.

Naturally, not all native people are with the new era. Some have been so bruised by poverty that they wonder what they will do if even meagre welfare funds are cut off. Some tribal officials are reluctant to give up their steady incomes. Especially near the urban centres, where the name of the game is get-what-you-can, little of the Chilliwack spirit has infected the native groups. But the new era has begun, and things will never quite be the same.

B.C. NATIVE PEOPLE CHOOSE FREEDOM

The declaration of independence has definite bearings on the land-claims question. People who are struggling for survival are going to be pressing harder and harder to have land claims settled. The longer the provincial and federal governments hold out, the worse it will become. On the other hand, settlement of the land claims will aid the native people to be independent, and colonial peoples are not eager to relax their grip on the natives.

On the other hand, unless native people are united, the government people will take advantage of division and weakness to make a claims settlement that is not realistic. "We must carefully scrutinize every leader involved in Land Claims, without any exceptions, because the Government will be looking for those leaders who have a price and are willing to deal on their own terms," Phillip Paul, UBCIC research director says. "Leaders should be directed, not followed."

It did not take long for the exultation, the ecstatic celebrations, the intoxication of freedom, to begin to be replaced by cool deliberations and planning. For others, there was panic and second thoughts as it began to dawn on people this was for real – that it really did mean no more welfare checks. Before many weeks had passed, about a third of the bands in B.C. had changed their minds – but the others held strong.

The Talking Stick Strengthens Its People

For three days, the many delegates at Chilliwack were uncertain of what to do. The scales were tipped when Phillip Paul read a telegram from George Manuel in Ottawa, stating that the National Indian Brotherhood had attempted without success to change new program guidelines announced by the DIA.

Manuel assailed circulars distributed by DIA as a subtle attempt to implement the white paper policy of 1969 under which the government proposed to terminate native peoples. The wire stated that Indian Affairs Minister Judd Buchanan had refused a request by NIB to freeze the disputed guidelines. Manuel pointed out that the circulars were a bureaucratic device to revise the Indian Act without consultation with either Indians or Parliament.

He said the Government intention is to force band councils to raise their own funds through taxation, in other words, to force native nations into municipal status. He asked the B.C. chiefs to take the same position as the chiefs of New Brunswick, who unanimously rejected the guidelines.

"Programs transferred to band administration have been deliberately programmed to fail," read the wire. "The Indian people will never obtain self-reliance, self-determination, and meaningful social economic development as long as government officials insist on making decisions for us and are callous and insensitive to the real needs of the Indian people."

While copies of the wire were being duplicated to circulate among the delegates, a contingent from the West Coast Vancouver Island district sang drum songs.

This brought a protest from Chief Delbert Guerin of the urban-based Musqueam band, who said, "If you want to spend your time dancing and singing Indian songs, there's a hall down the street."

This brought immediate replies from Nootka delegate Simon Lucas and George Watts.

"If we are going to mobilize our people, we are going to have to use every source and weapon and it seems that constitutions have not been able to move them," Lucas said.

"Maybe there are two kinds of Indians," Watts noted. "Those who want to live with the white man, and those who want to live as Indians." Guerin later apologized for his criticism.

The Nootka Nation people at Chilliwack showed much leadership. From the West Coast came strong and impassioned speakers, singers, drummers, dancers. They credited their strength to the traditional carved "talking stick" they had brought with them, and which people held to strengthen their words.

Immediately after the conference, emergency meetings were called of all bands and districts. What was the Williams Lake District Council became the Caribou Tribal Council, for instance. At an exciting gathering of several hundred people in the Williams Lake Longhouse, for the first time in nearly a century, parliamentary procedure went out the window, round dances of friendship took place. Chiefs reported across the province that their people were united in favor of rejecting DIA funds. The meeting was closed with dancing and 93-year-old Chilcotin elder George Myers, who had been ignored for years, sang some Chilcotin songs for his people.

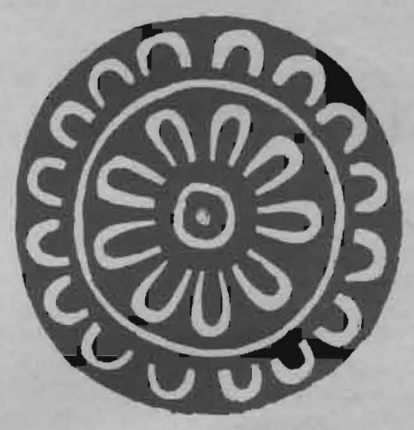
Parents at Alkali Lake reserve immediately withdrew their children from Mountview school, and other bands planned to follow suit.

Former Bonaparte chief Ken Basil told an American Indian Movement press conference a "survival regime" had been implimented on about 60 B.C. reserves. "We are starting to farm, develop and cultivate our lands to start producing our own food," he said. "We have got hunting parties out and we have got people sharing."

As George Watts said, "If someone's roof leaks, for once in our life we are not going to be paid to help. We're going to do it out of our own hearts."

Some bands toyed with ideas of new sources for funds. Industrial areas leased out on reserve lands could be taxed. Lands they planned to seize back from provincial control would provide saleable resources.

The Kwawkgewlth District delegation declared after a caucus that their people had exclusive fishing rights to Pacific Ocean waters on the east side of Vancouver Island.



The Thompson-Nicola Council issued statements telling band members "to prepare themselves for the worst by growing large gardens, by fishing and hunting to feed their families, and if necessary, to prepare to teach our own children in the next school year." The T-N Council closed 19 band offices, curtailed 69 programs, and laid-off 37 employees.

At places like the Fish Creek Cultural Center, the last funding cheque from DIA was cashed. Staff were laid off; others decided to continue on a voluntary basis. Its bunkhouse will be open, but not heated – next winter everyone will live in self-sustaining cabins. Instead of strings-attached "basic education programs," students will be accepted on a voluntary basis to study what they feel is important and to stay as long as they carry their share of the community's survival burden.

The Caribou Tribal Council announced formation of Warriors' Societies, and issued warnings to Department of Indian Affairs personnel that they must obtain permission of the chief before entering a reserve. The Warriors' Societies are composed of a highly-mobile group of people who have dedicated themselves to the cultural and economic rebirth of the Indians as people.

The main functions of the warriors will be to work in the villages organizing, educating, and assisting band members in their drive for independence.

And they will also assist people "to protect themselves and their homeland against the violence of external forces." Councillors noted DIA personnel would hardly be affected by the no-trespass order "since the department never shows up when you need them any way."

DIA Applies Assimilation Screws

Spokesmen explained that the small amount of money which did go to native organizations was a screen behind which massive amounts of money were absorbed by the federal bureaucracy. What funds were received had an implicit control with them – native activists who could have been organizing their people were instead filling out forms, and devoting their energies to trying to get and maintain the government funding. There were grant requests to make, proposals to write, reports to submit.

In New Brunswick, core funding was also rejected. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians has taken steps similar to those of the UBCIC – they will not carry out department programs on the reserves after July 1, will refuse entry of Indian Affairs officials to the reserves, and have agreed that no band councils will make any further contractual agreements with the department.

Staff workers have agreed to ending their jobs because, some said, "we were tired of being used as tokens by the Federal Government."

– Western Voice

George Watts: "We're off our bloody knees."

Federation of Saskatchewan Indians have been objecting to the appointment of Jim Wright as acting regional director. When Buchanan persisted in appointing him, the FSI banned him from their gatherings. In retaliation, Buchanan said other Indian Affairs officials could not attend if Wright were not allowed, and added that since there were not going to be any Indian Affairs officials present, it would not proceed with a promised grant for the "consultation" meeting.

In addition, the guidelines transferred responsibility for housing subsidies to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Union of New Brunswick Indians president Tony Francis said that the present statistics on unemployment and poverty conditions on reservations should indicate that for native people to rely on mortgages for their housing was "totally unrealistic."

In Parliament, Buchanan defended the guidelines on several occasions. He claimed there had been ample consultation "with the Indian people or the National Indian Brotherhood." He said he would be willing to review them at the "end of the year." He said the guidelines had been issued "at the request of many chiefs and councillors".

The controversial documents allow for the creation of "local government authorities" which would be incorporated under provincial statutes. Native leaders believe the Government could then push chiefs and councils to transfer their powers to these administrative units, which would be an easy group to deal with because, as member of Parliament Wally Firth put it, "there will be no need to go through the niceties of elections . . . making it easier to accomplish what appears to be the main goal of this arm of his department: administer the hell out of the Indians."

Should all or most B.C. Indians refuse the money, it will mean that hundreds of federal civil servants will have nothing to administer. And the prospect of a bureaucracy with nothing to do is what the Indians want to see.

Firth suggested that "the minister put the program circulars in the garbage where they belong."

Surprising What (and who) Money Can Buy

When the Canadian Government began funding provincial Indian organizations seven years ago, Ottawa came through with huge budgets for salaries, offices, and travel expenses. Full-time employees were drawing as much as $20,000 a year. As a result, much of the leadership consisted of "welfare recipients who exist on core funding and would not be in the movement if there was no financial gain," Bill Wilson explained.

Rivalry for funds led to division. "The core funding is there to involve us in personal hassles – men against women, tribe against tribe, youth against aged, uneducated against educated, reserve against urban," Wilson explained. "They allow us to pour water into a sieve. Let the minority groups do their thing and give them enough money to organize a little bit and whenever they get to the point of embarrassing you as a government . . . cut off their funding."

The UBCIC was "seduced by a galaxy of glory and easy money," Wilson feels. Thus it failed to move on the basic land claims issue because as long as the core funding was coming in, there was no crisis ahead to be resolved."

Wilson has been calling for refusal of core funding for many months now. "Get rid of the carpetbaggers, the smooth-tongued orators, and all the other con artists that are involved in the movement," he said. "People at the grass roots level will have to pay the salaries and expenses – and then they will call the shots."

Organizations like UBCIC and their miniatures on most reserves consisted of a middle-class group of well-paid "leaders". Their existence meant an obstacle to the people who were trying to solve basic problems.

Watts warned the Mayday demonstrators that "some of our people will be bought off, taking government money. Then they'll be the enemy and when you go home, you should consider them the enemy."

Wilson admits that "there is a difficult time ahead for Indians, but not as difficult as the last 50 or 60 years of master-servant relationships that we've had." He urged reserves to set up community kitchens and to provide sleeping accommodations for members without financial means. "People ate in this country for 5,000 years before the DIA arrived. Just because we can't buy packaged food in the supermarket doesn't mean we won't eat."

Bill Wilson said he hoped that the new attitudes would restore native values and communities. "We have millionaire Indian fishermen in my district, and we have poverty at the 80% level," he said. "And that is one of the things that hurts me."

For several weeks before the Chilliwack conference, there had been intermittent demonstrations in B.C. on the issue of cut-off lands.

On April 1, commuters who crossed the Lions Gate bridge to enter Vancouver passed through about 70 Squamish people carrying signs informing motorists that the bridge is built on Squamish land. Rush-hour morning traffic was tied up on the two northern approaches to the bridge.

In Penticton, members of the Penticton band tied up traffic for a half hour while leaflets were distributed saying that if the provincial government makes no move to resolve the Indian land claims issue, the demonstrations will become violent.

Demonstrations were planned throughout British Columbia for May 1. About 150 persons came to a "farewell party" at the DIA offices in Williams Lake, where they took over the offices for the day, leaving behind them a sign declaring the office was closed forever. At the same time, other demonstrations were happening at DIA offices in Victoria, Kamloops, Vernon, Bella Coola, and elsewhere.

– Western Voice

The people of B.C. are getting together

When the people gathered for the Mayday celebration, it was different than previous gatherings. Not only had they thrown off their $50-million worth of colonial shackles, but in two weeks they had dismantled their own cumbersome bureaucracy, shut down their offices, laid themselves off.

The coordinated province-wide Mayday offensive was visible proof that a change had indeed occurred.

At the Victoria demonstration, 400-strong waited for a delegation to emerge from talks with the New Democratic Party caucus. They didn't have long to wait before the angry trio emerged. "The impression of the three of us is that the NDP caucus is exactly like the Department of Indian Affairs – they didn't even listen," announced Bill Wilson.

George Watts urged the demonstrators to head home and build support for more massive protests. "We're off our bloody knees," he said.

The immediate demand on the province was not a replacement of the federal funds, but lands – cut-off lands. A hand-out explained: "In 1916, the McKenna-McBride Commission cut-off land from the reserves of 23 Indian bands. This was against the powers of the Commission and against the wishes of the 23 bands." The commission had been set up under the greedy eye of Premier Richard McBride in B.C.'s pre-World War I boom days, and had stolen 36,000 acres from the native groups and turned them over to the province. "We ask that the Province negotiate with us and join us in a just settlement of this injustice."

Previous efforts to begin negotiations had been thwarted by the insistance of Human Resources Minister Norman Levi that the Canadian Government follow certain protocol, consisting mostly of empty gestures. It was clear that the land had been sold by the provincial treasury to corporations for railway rights-of-way and timber, or was still an asset in the Crown lands inventory.

– Kamloops News

Chief Mary Leonard . . . led DIA office takeover

There are numerous other – even much larger – land disputes and claims, but the cut-off lands issue was chosen as the beginning point because it is the most tangible, easily documented, patently illegal case.

Watts has said the native people refuse to talk "about dollars and cents, because the land doesn't have that kind of value for us. We're not interested in money. We want the land back. If that's not possible, then we'll take other land instead. We'll take money only as a last resort."

Resources Minister Bob Williams and Labour Minister Bill King ventured onto the grounds after the unsuccessful talks to try to persuade the press. "Compared to previous governments, we've made unprecedented progress," Williams said.

A year ago, Williams had charged that the Indians were "harassing the majority of the population in order to achieve their objectives. That, he said, was a no-no. "The Government will not accept that. . . we will not be harassed."

"Do minority groups have the right to harass the majority to the extent these people suggest? I think not," Williams said. He added that his government was going to "include Indians in development, rather than brushing them aside like previous governments did." He did not understand, it seemed, that some of the Indians did not want to be developed.

Most of the demonstrations were "peaceful" by the standards of the sensation-seeking press. Prior to the one-day occupation in Williams Lake, participants were warned, "If we so much as overturn a wastebasket, they'll call in a consultant at $2,000 to assess the cost of cleaning it up, and then add his fee to the total cost of the so-called damage they release to the press, and use it as an excuse to spend $50,000 more of our money on their office."

At Kamloops, 150 demonstrators led by Chief Mary Leonard occupied and picketed the district DIA office. At Williams Lake, 160 Indians swooped into the DIA offices and set up discussion groups. Fifty native persons took over the Vernon offices with drumming and songs.

Participants in the Kamloops occupation ranged in age from a few months to very elderly. Each was given a mimeographed list of regulations: no alcohol, no drugs,

[continued on next page]

no damage, no writing on walls ("we have to live here"), no use of copiers or phones without consent of persons in charge, no threats. Disagreements, actions, or hassles were to be "immediately brought before all of the people inside."

The Bella Coola office was still occupied after weeks.

On May 8, after more than a week of occupied offices at the Kootenay-Okanagan District DIA office in Vernon, Adam Eneas, chief of the Penticton band of the Okanagan Nation, sent a telegram to Buchanan demanding that the office be closed for good. Buchanan gave in and ordered it closed.

Negotiate – Or Face A Long Hot Summer

On May 8, three days after a long meeting with Indian Affairs Minister Judd Buchanan, Levi caved in and told the legislature that the provincial government was ready to move on a negotiated settlement. A late-June meeting would lay the ground rules.

"I don't think we should get over-excited," George Watts cautioned. He continued to stress self-reliance, saying that if the government didn't settle the issue, "then our people will settle it." Levi had no real choice – either negotiate, or face an unpredictable summer of uprisings.

The following day, May 9, the NDP introduced a new "emergency powers bill" that opposition members hooted was "worse than the War Measures Act." It would have given the government an unprecedented "big stick" to control any Indian or labour unrest.

In announcing the negotiations, Levi had said he hoped Indian leaders would "take appropriate action to cool out the situation". However, his hopes were short-lived. The next day, a hundred B.C. American Indian Movement members took over the downtown Indian Affairs offices in Vancouver.

AIM regional leader Ken Basil read regulations drafted for the occupancy immediately after the 100-person force arrived. He announced that the offices were occupied, and that employees were free to come and go. He said no drugs or alcohol would be permitted, and that other offices in the building were off-limits to occupiers. He said the group would remain until June 25, the date set for a meeting between native people and the provincial government to discuss land claims.

– Western Voice

Bill Wilson: No More Carbetbaggers

The occupation touched off a bitter dispute between Indian Affairs Minister Buchanan and officials in the B.C. attorney-general's department. Buchanan told the provincial government he wanted the occupation force evicted because they were "non-elected representatives". He said he felt "there was some obligation on the part of the province to protect property whether it is government or private."

However, he was alone in his view. Members of the Vancouver Police Department, with advice from deputy attorney-general Dave Vickers and Police Commission chairman John Hogarth, refused to evict the AIM members.

The occupation began on Friday. Monday morning at 6 a.m., however, the group decided to move outside and set up informational picket lines. DIA employees showed up for work, but when they were informed that police had refused to evict the occupiers on Friday, they shut down their office in protest.

"It is my understanding that the police were not prepared to give us an undertaking to protect us against another occupation," Buchanan said.

A police official said Buchanan "wanted us to go in with helmets and take them out by force – that would have been a helluva way to set the mood for the long hot summer ahead."

At a press conference, Bill Wilson, speaking for B.C. chiefs, praised AIM, the provincial government, and the police, for their responsible actions in averting violence "in the face of total irresponsibility displayed by the federal Department of Indian Affairs."

Earlier, in Terrace, B.C., National Indian Brotherhood President George Manual made a choked statement on the land claims. "I am thinking of a whole generation of people who have now passed on, who spent their entire lives in a struggle over our Aboriginal Right Claims. I can remember poor people selling chickens, pigs, and sometimes everything they owned to raise money for our cause. In those days, there was no such thing as government support or monetary aid to Indian people." He said Indian leaders must make some sacrifices if the aboriginal rights of their people were to be recognized.

"Aboriginal rights is not an issue that belongs only to the Indians of Canada. It is an issue that belongs to all the dark-skinned people of the world," Manuel told the group. "The Maoris of New Zealand have the same type of fraudulent treaties that were made with the Indian people on the Canadian prairies. The Aborigines of Australia are going through the same damn struggle we are in relation to trying to persuade their government to recognize Aboriginal rights. Look at the struggle of the African countries to get recognition of their Aboriginal Rights."

Manuel continued, "You may wonder why I am raising these issues. You are probably saying to yourself these people are far away overseas in a foreign country. But they are directly related to your issues because the mentality of those white people seems to be the same as most non-Indians right here in Canada."

"I have finally come to the realization that the Governments of Canada have no intentions of settling the Aboriginal Rights issues," he stated.

On May 20, George Watts went to the NDP Convention in the War Memorial Gym of the University of British Columbia. There was a lengthy debate as to whether more than 600 delegates should hear first-hand from Indians on Indian problems. The rank-and-file of the convention appeared to favor the idea, but the party brass, personified by outgoing party president Frank Murphy, appeared cool to the proposal.

Murphy was downright blunt. He suggested that the proper way for Watts to be heard was "to join the NDP." But delegates overwhelmingly voted in favor of hearing an Indian spokesman, and Watts himself, once on the platform, crisply demolished Murphy.

"I am a party member and I have been one for ten years," Watts told the convention. "I'd also like to say that my father was a longshoreman for 45 years and was one of the founders of the CCF [a predecessor of the NDP.]

Watts said his people have lived a life of socialism "for more years than the white man." But tribal socialism, he said, was destroyed by the advent of foreign people who imposed a capitalistic system on the Indians." The NDP considers itself a socialist party.

"It wasn't our people who came here to rip apart the earth so that the could become rich," Watts said.

"It wasn't our people who came here to spread their religion – we had a religion, and we had an education system.

"But that wasn't good enough for you people."

Watts said that Indian people were going to be returning to their old socialist way of life, but said this could only come about if the white man – socialist and capitalist – returned to his people the resources and wealth that they need to survive.

Watts said it is ironic that NDP members applauded the liberation of South Vietnam. "Think about the people in this country that need to be liberated," he suggested. "We need liberation." He demanded that the NDP start acting on the Indians' land claims.

"And as long as you talk about these things without allowing the Indians to be part of the discussions, then you are white-assed liberals." The NDP had failed to develop a clear-cut policy under which resources and lands would be returned to Indians, and current government projects like the Port Simpson Cannery and the Burns Lake sawmill are no more than "sops," he said.

"Don't come to help us with our alcoholics, or with our broken families, or offer us used clothing," Watts said. "We don't want any of that any more. All we want you to do is to urge your government to sit down and negotiate with us."

Watts said Indians have been waiting a long time for action. "You had 100 years and you've blown it," he told the delegates.

Railroads, Highways & Bridges Blockaded

In late May, 20 miles south of Port Hardy, Nimpkish people blocked the Nimpkish River bride and charged motorists $1 or more to pass to the only highway in area. The blockade continued all day with most motorists paying the toll, although some told police they planned to protest. Others wished them well.

The blockade group said there had been an exchange of 12 acres of land in 1961 for $433.20 to build the highway, and earlier petitions had been ignored.1

Another blockage of a logging road 20 miles west of Port Alberni at Kildonan also was in progress at the same time.

There, members of the Uchucklesaht band blockaded a MacMillan-Bloedel road, closing down logging operations. About 30 persons were involved in the closure, and they said they would remain indefinitely as they assert their aboriginal claim to the land.

About 100 loggers moved off the job and left for Port Alberni by boat. A RCMP official said he understood the loggers watched quietly and did not oppose the blockade. Another RCMP official said the Indian group had chartered an airplane to get into the area, inaccessible by land.

Uchucklesaht member Robert Cootes said his people had held two fruitless meetings with MacMillan-Bloedel representatives, and "now we plan to kick them out of our land." He said the blockade would be "peaceful but permanent." A company spokesman said the company has no quarrel with the Indians, the road does not cross Indian reserve land, and that they are logging in a tree farm license under contract with the provincial government.

At Stuart-Trembleur, band members were continuing their blockade of the British Columbia Railway line near Fort St. James.

– Western Voice

Phillip Paul: "We're A Movement."

The railway blockade went up April 28 after a lengthy meeting of Stuart-Trembleur band members who had been negotiating without success for seven years regarding non-payment for land taken by the BCR for its extension through to Dease Lake.Hunting and fishing grounds have been ruined as a result of the new line.

They are demanding $7-million in compensation, and a three-for-one land exchange for 378 acres taken by the railway. No trains travelled since the blockade went up. Senior B.C. Railway officials and a member of the provincial cabinet were dispatched to negotiate.

Tachie Reserve is about 130 miles northwest of Prince George. Six other reserves were crossed by the BCR extension, and Indian leaders have tried unsuccessfully for seven years to collect compensation. A freight train scheduled to run was turned back by company officials because they did not want to risk a confrontation scene like something out of a Wild West movie.

Alf Nunwiler, speaking for the provincial cabinet, said that if the Indians would lift the blockade, he would bring in consultants to study "development possibilities". The offer was rejected.

On the west coast of Vancouver Island, the Nootka people forced the federal Department of Fisheries to close down Friendly Cove. The cove, which is completely surrounded by reserve land, had been opened to the herring fishery only last year, and in that one season, it was totally fished out.

As a result, the Nootka lost one of their important food resources for the fall and winter – the spawn that grow on the hemlock branches in the cove. The Nootkas had conserved this source of nourishment for hundreds of years, only to see it wiped out in one season of commercial fishing.

When commercial boats again appeared and dropped their nets, the Nootkas gave Fisheries a firm ultimatum that if the cove wasn't closed immediately, they'd do the job themselves.

Fisheries caved in, saying they were closing the area "because of extreme circumstances, not for conservation reasons."

Entire Nazko/Kluskus Area Blocked Off

Sentries were posted on three roads leading into the huge Blackwater/Nazko River watershed which the native people claim as their territory. White residents already living in the area will not be disturbed – the native group figures they are entitled to "their own little reserves." However, industry and government people are banned.

A consortium of five Quesnel sawmills proposes building a road from their timber stands to the mills – a road which would cut off the water supply to the Nazko village. Dennis Patrick explains that Nazko and Kluskus peoples know what this means. "They know what has happened to other Indians across Canada when their old way of life gets smothered by someone else's progress and the Indians end up with nothing but booze, welfare, and despair."

Cariboo's member of the provincial legislature is already complaining. "They have already stopped economic development," says Alex Fraser. "In six months time, that is going to affect a lot of jobs in the forest industry." He admits the Indians have legitimate claims which must be corrected, and he is angry at provincial stalling. "Let's get this thing settled once and for all."

—Western Voice
A Grandmother Dances in B.C. Demonstration

"We've been fighting for our rights in the white man's way – now we are going to fight our way." That statement by Stanley Boyd, chief of the Kluskus Band of Southern Carrier Nation, summed up the bitterness, frustration, and determination which led his people to oust all intruders, particularly loggers and hunters, from their traditional lands.

The 240-member group has been calling insistently for settlement of their claims since February, 1973, when it was announced that a road was to be built through their area. They physically stopped the road in May, 1974, by blocking the machinery. Resources Minister granted a moratorium at that time so the Carriers could prepare their case. The report was submitted in August, but for five months, there was no reply to their thorough study.

In January, the Carrier chiefs urgently requested concerned cabinet ministers to visit Nazko for a parley on March 5. The invitation was repeated every week via telegram, but there was no reply, and no one came to the scheduled meeting from Victoria, the province's capital.

The meeting took place just the same, Carrier style. Village elder Peter Morris reminded his people "the land is ours. They took all our land and gave us nothing. We didn't sign anything."

After the meeting, Carrier officials informed tourist information services and all government departments that their nation lands may be entered only with their consent, and they announced they were ready and willing to do whatever is necessary to enforce that demand. They also told of their continuing readiness to meet with provincial and federal officials "to discuss our land claim and to establish joint means of protecting our separate and mutual interests."

Boyd complains the logging company "said there were no people there. . . the government and the B.C. Forest Service tried to set up a whole town there once without our knowing."

Ed Burnstick, national AIM director, charged that Canadian Forces were conducting guerilla warfare training in Alberta aimed at dealing with a potential Indian uprising. But in Ottawa, Col. Jean Boulet, director of information services for the national defence department, said that allegation was "completely erroneous."

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VIEWS IN THE NEWS

THE FUSE IS BURNING

[A leading British Columbia newspaper, The Victoria Times, *recently printed an editorial, "The Fuse Is Burning", from which these excerpts have been taken.]*

The real test – the only test, some would say – of a democracy is the manner in which the majority treats the minority. In Canada, a minority much-abused through most of the nation's history is organizing, demanding its rights. Canada's Indians, forming no more than two percent of the total population, are asking for settlement of long-standing claims – on land, treaty provisions, and other matters.

Slowly, the 98% of us are waking up to the fact that we skinned the original inhabitants of this country, treated them very shabbily, indeed; in fact fostered an attitude of "benign neglect" and hoped they would gradually disappear. Slowly, very slowly, this attitude has changed.

Two recent speeches by L.I. Barber, who was appointed Indian Claims Commissioner five years ago by the Federal Government to negotiate with Canada's native people, are of interest as evidence of this new attitude.

Indians are saying to Canadians, in Barber's words, "that this was originally their country, that we have either never made a satisfactory deal with them or we have not lived up to the spirit of the deals we did make. . . We must accept that we have some unfinished business."

He compares native hopes, in one sense, with French-Canada aspirations. Quebeckers have always insisted on running their own affairs as much as possible. People are skeptical that Indians can do the same on their own, that they are responsible enough to handle their own affairs and resources. To which Barber replies that they've never had a chance to demonstrate ability. "The leadership will develop if the opportunity is there."

Barber also warns of the dangers in deferring the question. If we don't face up to it, Indians will be forced into raising the ante by taking extreme actions.

"I think the degree of militancy and extremist measures around the world should tell us that if we don't take the legitimate concerns of native people seriously, we should not be surprised if extremism, which we smugly feel is the problem of the Irish or the Americans, becomes our problem in a real and direct way."

Indians have not yet taken up arms, except in a few scattered incidents, and are earnestly seeking peaceful negotiation of their claims. But they will not be put off forever.

Settlement of centuries-old grievances with native peoples is an emergency priority, says Barber. He is absolutely correct in his analysis. For example, native claims are inextricably entwined with another of Canada's most pressing problems – energy.

Quebec was forced to come to terms with the Cree people of the James Bay region in order to go ahead with a multi-billion-dollar hydroelectric project. A special inquiry on the proposed Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline will have to deal with native rights in the north, and compensation for loss of those rights when the pipeline is built.

In British Columbia, the Government is proceeding with long-term plans to open up the northwest by building railway extensions – one of them projected through several thousand square miles claimed by the Nishgas as their aboriginal homeland.

Unless it wishes to scale down these plans drastically, it too will have to accommodate these claims, which fully half of the Supreme Court of Canada supported as valid in law.

As Barber points out, "native frustration is building and we cannot expect that native people will much longer confine their misery to their own communities as they have in the past."

He feels Canada should seize the unique opportunity presented here and show Indians – and the rest of the world – "that we can deal with a difficult internal problem in an enlightened way and to show that people can resolve their differences, complicated and historic though they be, and live harmoniously through democratic processes."

MEANING OF LAND CLAIMS EXPLAINED BY NAZKO LEADER: SURVIVAL, IDENTITY, INDEPENDENCE

[During the occupation of the Williams Lake offices, impromptu speeches were made by a number of participants. Dennis Patric of Nazko told the people these things.]

What land claims is to me is survival.

Because this office we're occupying here today – they're more or less the people who are trying to destroy us. They're trying to make us like white men's race. That's part of land claims too.

We're sitting here in this paper empire. To me right now, it's just paper. It's not important to me anymore. Yesterday, all the money allocated to Indians was spent on this fancy office, carpet on the floor and so on. That's supposed to be helping the Indians? What do Indians get out of that? Nothing. That, too, is part of land claims.

Letters were sent to the government saying "We are people too." They kept ignoring us – no reply. Only acknowledgements, thanking people for their letters have been received.

All here believe we own the land. We don't have to beg any more. As long as we stand together – even if it takes 100 years – that's the main thing. That, too is part of land claims.

I am happy to see so many people here and at the meeting too. I am interested in what happens tomorrow and what's going to happen to our children.

I think people realize that they've been oppressed so many years. It really looks good to get money, but it's really nothing.

Indian people have made a great sacrifice. Not now, but before. We have sacrificed a great part of our culture, have been imposed on by white man. They try to make Indian like white man.

It's hard to change. A lot of Indian people get mixed up. I don't think they have to get mixed up any more.

I think they can be proud to be Indians.

That is land claims.

[Thanks to Williams Lake Tribune.]

PINE RIDGE AFTER WOUNDED KNEE: THE TERROR GOES ON

Oglala Nation at Pine Ridge – The military moved out.

The Phantom Jet and three helicopters were flown back to their bases.

The 82nd Airborne and Sixth Army units collected their gear – 120 sniper rifles, 100 protective vests, 20 grenade launchers, 16 armored personnel carriers and what remained of the 400,000 rounds of M-16 ammunition after 65 days of shooting into the tiny village of Wounded Knee – and went away.

Colonels Volney Warner and Jack Potter, commanders of the clandestine operation, once again donned their uniforms after two months in civilian clothes.

It was May 8, 1973, last day of the 71-day siege of Wounded Knee.

To Richard Nixon, Alexander Haig, Fred Buzhardt, Richard Kleindienst and Gen. Creighton Abrams – named in a $19-million civil rights suit brought by native peoples – the action was a major victory. Under their direct orders, the military had been illegally stationed on the Pine Ridge Reservation in civilian disguise – a disguise so effective dozens of reporters on the scene were unaware of its presence.

The secrecy had been vital. Federal law forbids military intervention in a civilian disorder without a Congressional proclamation.

Nixon was in his final hours of his presidency when these facts came to light through Army records and the testimony of Colonels Warner and Potter during the trial of AIM leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means. Judge Fred Nichol was scathing in his criticism of the U.S. Government as he dismissed the charges last September. The U.S., he ruled, had used illegal wiretaps, paid witnesses and FBI informers, submitted altered evidence, lied under oath, and used the military in civilian disguise.

"We don't want the military running civil affairs in this country," Nichol said.

"I see. Due to your corrupt mismanagement, the people of your reservation are starving and rebellious, and you urgently require aid. Right. How many machine guns?"

The press and U.S. spokesmen seem to feel that the occupation of Wounded Knee is what has sparked the violence. Few understand that the violence and corruption were the reasons for Wounded Knee, and fewer still see beyond the "Indian vs. Indian" script to see that there are deep-seated forces which cause the violence to boil to the surface. Those forces have their roots in history and in contemporary times, and the roots trace back to U.S. interests far away from Pine Ridge.

The main reasons Oglala people went to Wounded Knee in 1973 were the corrupt and fascist policies of the tribal government headed by Dick Wilson. And since the occupation ended, Oglalas and their supporters have done everything possible to get the U.S.-supported regime out of power, but they were thwarted by inaction of U.S. Attorneys, FBI, and Interior Department officials.

Finally this spring Dick Wilson went too far. He is alleged to have beaten up a white lawyer from the East, who brought enough pressure down that the U.S. had to act.

If you understand Vietnam, you can understand Pine Ridge.

At Home on the Reservation

American Indian Movement people face more serious threats than this. In the aftermath of Wounded Knee, nearly 200 AIM members have been arrested. At least a dozen unsolved murders, knifings, shootings, suspicious accidents and suicides have claimed the lives of AIM members. A number of AIM women have been raped. And AIM members say Pedro Bissonette was assassinated by two Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) policemen on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Considering the size of the group – AIM has several hundred hard-core members on the reservation, though thousands more identify with it – this string of mishaps seems more than a coincidence.

After a recent head count, AIM leaders and their lawyers charged that "federal and state officials have launched a coordinated campaign to discredit and destroy the American Indian Movement."

Roger Finzel, a defense attorney for AIM members, said the arrests, beatings, and murders began after 94% of all Indian defendants in cases arising from Wounded Knee either had charges dismissed or they were acquitted.

Finzel also charged that the murders and shootings at Pine Ridge are being investigated by the "same FBI agents who served as adverse witnesses in the Wounded Knee trials."

Finzel feels there is a strong effort being made to annihilate the Indian movement. As proof, he cites 26 arrests of AIM adherents in a one-month period this spring. There were six deaths of AIM supporters – including a prime defense witness in a murder case – on the Pine Ridge Reservation in two weeks. 50 "John Doe" warrants for AIM members were issued.

The efforts are not limited to Pine Ridge, and appear to be carefully coordinated. Within a 24-hour period last March, federal and local police arrested 17 AIM members in three states.

In Denver, Bill Means and four others were stopped by police and held for "suspicion of a controlled substance" – marijuana – then they were freed 72 hours later without charges.

Near Hot Springs, South Dakota, four men and three women – all AIM members – were stopped at a roadblock for "a license plate check." Met by four separate state and federal law enforcement agencies, they were held on a variety of charges including "criminal syndicalism" – last used in 1918 against socialist organizer Eugene Debs.

"Criminal syndicalism" is defined as "any doctrine or practice which teaches, advocates, or practices crime, sabotage, violence or other methods of terrorism or the destruction of life or property for the accomplishment of social, economic, industrial, or political ends."

Regina Dixon of WKLDOC said that those arrested had been framed and set up by one Douglass Durham, the AIM security chief/FBI agent.

AIM leaders feel these tactics are a direct response to their demands for an examination of treaties. If the treaties are upheld, AIM says, the Oglala Sioux alone would own at least 50 million acres in five states and become holder of the world's second largest uranium reserves, and accrue vast mineral, oil, water, and timber rights.

Earlier this year, U.S. District Judge Warren K. Urbom ruled the Sioux would have to negotiate with the U.S. Congress for treaty rights. In his decision, Judge Urbom said, "...the official policy of the United States was impelled by a resolute will to control substantial territory for its westward-moving people. Whatever obstructed this movement, including the Indians, was to be – and was – shoved aside, dominated, or destroyed.

"Wars, disease, treaties pocked by duplicity and decimation of the buffalo by Whites drove the Sioux to reservations, shriveled their populations, and disemboweled their corporate body.

"They were left a people unwillingly dependent in fact upon the United States. It is an ugly history. White Americans may retch at the recollection of it."

Judge Urbom's words were not lost on the Oglalas who crowded his courtroom.

"All we ask is independence to govern ourselves the way we want," an Oglala tribal member said. "If we had that 50 million acres of Indian land in America, we wouldn't have to depend on the federal government for hand-outs or food stamps or commodities. But they'll never let that happen. They'll kill us first."

"If they had just listened to us..."

"I cannot see why the Government is paying so much money for the courts to surround Indian people," said Gladys Bissonette, a member of the Oglala Civil Rights Association who was active in the Wounded Knee occupation. "If they had just listened to us and gotten Wilson out of the Government to begin with," she added, "all this, all this bloodshed could have been prevented. We stood up because we don't want this corruption on the reservation."

The grand jury convened in Rapid City on March 18 to investigate the recent deaths, shootings, beatings, threats, acts of intimidation and damage to property on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Nearly two-thirds of the approximately 20 members of the grand jury are women – none are Indian. Federal security surrounding the non-public sessions is tight, and witnesses are generally placed in separate waiting rooms to insure confidentiality.

The grand jury was convened in response to "incidents of violence and disruption" according to Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger's announcement in Washington, D.C., March 12. Pottinger is directly supervising the grand jury. In charge of presenting witnesses are R. Dennis Ickes, director of the Office of Indian Rights of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, and William Clayton, the U.S. Attorney for South Dakota.

Ickes has not been noted for his friendliness to AIM. He has criticized the dismissal of charges against Wounded Knee defendants, contending the court action would encourage Indians to stage "more such protests." Clayton has long been frustrating traditional Oglalas because of his refusal to prosecute their complaints.

"The reservation is approaching a state of disorder and lawlessness which we cannot possibly let go untended," Pottinger told a press conference.

The Events of February 26

The events that touched off the grand jury happened February 26. On that day, an AIM member, Richard Marshall, an Oglala, appeared before Judge Theodore Tibbitts in the Pine Ridge Tribal Court. Marshall was accompanied, no doubt as protection, by a group of AIM people, including Russell Means, also an Oglala, of AIM.

Court officials said Means was "contemptuous" of the court, and a clerk called her husband, Duane Brewer, a member of the "Highway Safety Committee" who is known as a Wilson supporter, to the scene.

Brewer arrived with a group of Wilson followers. The court was adjourned for the day, a scuffle took place, and the AIM group left the scene with the goon squad in pursuit. There was a brief exchange of gunfire. One Wilson car was allegedly struck by machine-gun bullets fired from a van that was later picked up in Gordon, Nebraska, with occupants Thomas Richard Poor Bear, Cleo Marshall [Richard Marshall's wife], Ted Mesteth, Richard Powers, and Joe Bucking Horse.

The van Poor Bear was driving was registered to Douglas Durham, the FBI informer.

Other members of the goons who had not given chase to AIM reportedly threatened persons whose sympathies were thought to be with AIM. One of the group advised Pine Ridge BIA Superintendent Albert Trimble, an Oglala himself, "to get a body guard because we're going to get you."

Meanwhile, other Wilson supporters returned from the AIM chase. Young Wilson and his companions went back to the tribal council parking lot – immediately in front of the police station and jail – where one of them blackened the eyes of a man who had earlier broken up a fight between young Wilson and Means. They then warned two Oglala Tribal councilmen, Severt Young Bear and Marvin Ghost Bear that they better have protection when they left the village or they'd be killed. Young Bear and Ghost Bear took the threat seriously and holed up at police headquarters for several hours. Most of the policemen were also huddled

in the BIA offices so that they would not be witness to or involved in the goon activity.

Afterwards, the goons sauntered into the police station to use the toilet there.

Later that same day, a group of WKLDOC were viewing the site of the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation in connection with Escamillo's case. The group returned to the Pine Ridge airport to find their airplane with a gunshot hole in it. Afraid to use the craft, they were unloading the plane when a 15-car caravan arrived. Escamillo, attorneys Roger Finzel, William Rossmore, and Marty Copleman, and committee workers Eda Gordon and Kathy James allege that Wilson and his companions began to "rough us up."

The group had locked themselves into a convertible, but the top was quickly slashed. "What do we do with them?" one of Wilson's men asked. According to the committee workers, Wilson answered, "Stomp them." Escamillo and Finzel were hospitalized for one day.

When the group was interviewed by the grand jury, one juror told Eda Gordon, "You all seem to have the same story," and asked investigator Tom Grady from the Criminal Division of the Justice Department to proceed with a lie detector test. Both Gordon and Finzel agreed to the test which was taken that same day. Both are reported to have passed the test.

Dick Wilson, Pine Ridge tribal council chairman

"... I'm opposed to violence in any form."

After the airport attack, Ted Means, state coordinator of AIM said that AIM "has never resorted to tactics of retaliation with Wilson and his goons, but the brutality and violence on the reservation is going to stop right now." AIM would, he said, "take the necessary steps to protect Indian people on the reservation." He said AIM had continually asked the BIA and FBI and U.S. Attorney for protection, but none was received. "This is a last-ditch effort to get the Federal Government to provide law enforcement on the reservation," Means said.

After the attack on the legal crew at the airport, Wilson had told reporters he had been in a council session when the incident took place. "What I can gather, mostly from rumor, is that it was a group of AIM people led by Russell Means [who beat up the WKLDOC lawyers]. None of my people were involved."

The next day, the Wilson men set up roadblocks and scoured the hills for the AIM people and broke up an attempted celebration of the anniversary of the Wounded Knee occupation. Wilson has a rule that more than five people gathering for any reason without his permission is cause for arrest.

The Grand Jury: More White Folks

Indictments on misdemeanor assault charges have been issued against Wilson and six members of his private police force commonly known as "the goon squad."

Also indicted was Richard "Manny" Wilson, Jr., son of the tribal council chairman; Fred and Everet Brewer, brothers, and their cousin, Duane Brewer; Tony Mousseau and Chanfield Folson. The seven were not even arrested, but were served notices for a later court appearance.

The misdeameanor charge was the least severe charge possible. According to the Pine Ridge Oglala constitution, anyone convicted of a felony cannot run for tribal chairman, so the misdemeanor indictment does not interfere with Wilson's candidacy. The worst that could happen would be $500 fines and/or six months in prison. All were released on their own recognizance.

By contrast, the persons who the Wilson group chased from the Pine Ridge courthouse are charged with felonies. They were arrested and held on large bail bonds. Tom Poor Bear was indicted on two counts of assault with a dangerous weapon against Duane Brewer and Richard Wilson, Jr. Marshall, Webster Poor Bear, and Wayne Colome are charged with one count of felonious assault with a deadly weapon against Brewer and Wilson.

The grand jury also heard evidence from Marion Shultz, who heads what he calls a "civil liberties group" — but which many Indians call "a white vigilante group." It is not known what relevant testimony Schultz presented. The jury was also presented with voluminous reports from FBI agents, some 20 of whom remain on the reservation.

Some federal sources indicated that the grand jury might be recalled to investigate charges of embezzlement of tribal funds, but Pottinger's office declined to comment on this possibility.

Last year, the same grand jury refused to indict Richard Wilson on charges of selling liquor on the Pine Ridge Reservation in violation of federal and tribal law.

Schultz organized a radio and telephone network among white ranchers. "You get apprehensive when you leave home," he explains.

Another rancher says he and his neighbors "are sitting on a powder keg. If we're not careful, this country could split wide open."

"I dread it when the phone rings," Janklow says. "I'm afraid it's a race war."

As AIM gets stronger, ironically all Indians get caught in the backlash, even those who are avid opponents of AIM. "It's tougher with some of the cowboys who don't know the difference between us," Lorenzo Fast Horse says. He averages a fight a month with AIM members.

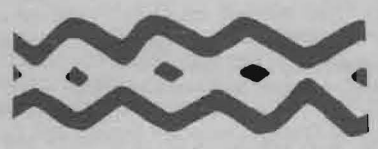
Whites in reservation towns are disturbed by the increased militancy among native people. "My house has always been full of Indian schoolmates of my kids who come home with them and play in the recreation room," says Buzzy Bechtold, owner of the Maverick Motel in Mission, which is on the Rosebud Reservation. "These young people now are full of venom toward whites. Most are okay until they leave the reservation to go to school and run across some liberal professor. I used to know Russell Means. He used to be a nice, good-looking hard-working boy."

Bechtold is a spokesman for "South Dakotans for Civil Liberties," a group that has replaced in name if not in membership the Tri-County Protective Association. Many Indians describe them as conservative "rednecks" and their name represents their white man's desire: to eventually put the Indians, the same as whites, under jurisdiction of their state government.

John Fitzgerald, an attorney whose involvement with the Wounded Knee defense team and then later with the South Dakota Attorney General's office caused a major controversy, is now acting as attorney for Wilson. He hopes to turn the grand jury into a witch-hunt, suggesting that "the eastern anti-war movement has transferred its energy to a new cause — getting rid of Dick Wilson. I hope the grand jury also looks at the list of persons who have contributed to the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee."

Preliminary reports of the grand jury seemed to indicate it would concentrate on supplying the tribal government with even more strength in order to bring about "law and order." During its four weeks in session ending in late April, the grand jury heard 80 witnesses and returned 19 indictments. "Not all agencies of the Federal Government are performing their law and order responsibility in a satisfactory manner," a preliminary report signed by jury foreman Lyle D. Grubl said. He also called for more funds for the tribal court system.

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation is currently investigating the situation at Pine Ridge," said Pottinger. "Once the witnesses have been presented, we will carefully examine their testimony. We will exhaustively analyze the FBI reports. Only then can we make any determination whether indictments charging violations of federal criminal laws may be sought against any person or persons."



Pottinger spoke of "two recent murders" that also led to his decision to begin a formal investigation. The first death occurred after a shooting in the early morning hours of March 1, barely three days after the Pine Ridge events, in a bar in Scenic, South Dakota, just off the reservation boundary. Martin Montelaux, a 28-year-old Oglala believed to have been a strong supporter of Wilson, was found shot in the neck by a .22. He died at 5 a.m. March 7. Means and Marshall were arrested after a 17-mile chase. Means was charged with being "an accessory to murder". A third man, David Clifford, was reportedly driving the automobile carrying Marshall and Means at the time of their arrest. He was held on $5,000 bond, charged with reckless driving and eluding a police officer. The three were bailed out of jail with $55,000 cash by Indian-rights supporter Marlon Brando.

Means and Marshall admit stopping at the bar with five others to use the restroom, but deny that they shot anyone.

Before Montileaux died, he told a government prosecutor that Means did not shoot him.

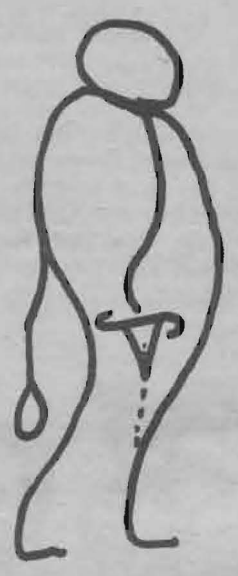
The Trail of Murders

An incredible string of seven inter-related violent deaths illustrates the terror of life at Pine Ridge.

On March 9, following a week of shooting incidents without injuries on Pine Ridge, 58-year-old William "Josh" Steele, an Oglala, was killed in Manderson.

Steele was a Wilson supporter. He was felled during an exchange of gunfire with a passing vehicle on March 20. Jerry Bear Shield was arrested, charged in the shooting, and then released on bond.

Then Bear Shield was shot in the throat while he and his friend, Stacey Cottier were walking at night. Cottier, 18, was killed in the gun attack by the unknown assailants. His body, with numerous gunshot wounds in the back, was not found until the following morning.



One person could have established that Bear Shield was innocent of Steel's shooting, friends say, but now she is dead. 36 hours after Bear Shield was shot, Edith Eagle Hawk and her two children, age four and four months, were killed in a truck crash. The deaths are listed as "accidental." According to the eight survivors of the crash, Albert Coomes, a white rancher, rammed his pickup into theirs three times before the bumpers locked and the crash killed Coomes as well.

Edith's husband, Eugene Eagle Hawk, survived the crash. He said that one of the occupants of Coomes' vehicle was a member of the goon squad. Official police reports make no mention of his presence.

The next evening, Jeanette Bissonette went to Stacey Cottier's wake. On her way home, she was killed by a sniper's bullet. She was the mother of six, and the sister-in-law of Oglala civil rights leader Pedro Bissonette, killed by BIA police on the reservation in October, 1973.

Jeannette Bissonette had a flat tire, and pulled off the road. A friend, Morris Wounded, also returning from the wake, stopped to help. As they got out of their cars, shots rang from the hills, and Jeanette was fatally shot. AIM members believe the bullets were intended for Ellen Moves Camp, who drives a light blue station wagon similar to the Bissonette vehicle. Moves Camp had just refused to testify before the grand jury and has been a longtime Wilson target.

Jeannette Bissonette's sniper attack occurred across the road from Wilson's country home.

The death of Richard Eagle, 11, is another byproduct of the reign of terror and need-to-be-armed attitude on the reservation. While Gladys Bissonette was attending the funeral of Jeannette Bissonette, her grandchildren were playing. Gladys had armed herself because of repeated harassment by the roving goon squad. Richard's play led him to the rifle — it accidentally went off and killed him.

[continued on next page]

Violence Begets Violence

William Janklow, anti-AIM attorney general of South Dakota, declares, "It's safer to live in Phnom Penh than in Pine Ridge."

Last year, there were 23 murders on the Pine Ridge Reservation. In 1975, that figure leaped to a "murder a week". In March, it jumped to two a week.

There have been tortures, too. Men have had their hands crushed with rifle butts. Patterns have been burned on faces with cigarettes.

"I'm fed up with the violence," Janklow says. "I have reason to believe that there may be some federal officials derelict in their duties in regard to reservation violence. If there are some persons derelict, I think they should be charged with crime. I have some specifics."

All the violence begets further violence – even without politics involved. Victor Standing Soldier, 29, was arrested for beating Burgess Red Cloud on the forehead with a hammer in Pine Ridge on March 26, the day Jeanette Bissonette died. Life has become very cheap at Pine Ridge.

On April 5, Hilda Rose Good Buffalo, 81, of Oglala, a reservation village, was found dead with a stab wound in the throat. She was a known traditional, but not particularly an "AIM sympathizer". There are no suspects, and no apparent motives, such as robbery.

On April 14, Louis Moves Camp, who was paid by the FBI to testify against Russell Means and Dennis Banks, was critically wounded by a rifle shot in Wanblee. However, his shooting was not so much political as personal: he had been arrested and charged with rape of a Pine Ridge woman earlier in the year.

The same night, a parent-child center in the village of Porcupine was burned down.

Ellen Moves Camp & Gladys Bissonette in Wounded Knee

Some Indians say they have to carry a gun when they visit the post office or trading posts, and – in the more rural reaches – when they step outside their cabins to use the privy. Even the ambulance drivers are armed – nothing and no one is immune to attack in the war going on here.

In the aftermath of these deaths, no one has been charged with the killings of AIM members.

Traditional peoples have had to flee to Denver and other urban areas for safety.

This is part of a pattern of violence and unequal law enforcement which began even prior to the occupation of Wounded Knee.

Hundreds of bullets have been fired into the homes of AIM supporters.

In November, 1974, Jess Trueblood, a BIA policeman off duty, shot many rounds into the Stone house in Pine Ridge village. All five of the occupants were injured, including three-year-old Johnnie Joe Mousseaux, their grandchild. Johnnie's arm was nearly shot off and he is maimed for life.

Only 12 minutes after the Stones were admitted to the Pine Ridge hospital, Jess Trueblood's body was brought in with a bullet wound in the head. He had been shot with his own pistol in the back of the head. Wilson's son, Manny, took command of the Trueblood car and wouldn't release it to the FBI until the following morning. All fingerprints had been wiped from the pistol and vehicle. Wilson termed Trueblood's death a suicide, and refused to order an investigation.

A shot was fired through the livingroom window of Judi Cornelius, one-time supporter of Wilson, but the niece of Albert Trimble. Neither Judi nor her two small daughters were injured. No one was charged in the shooting.

Elected tribal councilmen Marvin Ghost Bear and Severt Young Bear both had their homes fired upon. Poker Joe Merrival collected nine bullets from his trailer after such an attack. Matthew King reported that 20 rounds were fired into his home. Charles O'Rourke counted 17 on his. Mary Ann Little Bear, age 7, lost an eye when her family was fired upon.

In almost every instance, the AIM supporters' homes were filled with women and children during the shooting sprees.

Dick Wilson claims that AIM has retaliated in kind against his home at least eight times in the past three years.

Yet no one has ever been arrested in connection with any of these incidents – though some of the victims have positively identified their assailants.

Or there was the time when four goons broke into the house of Dick Marshall and Dave Clifford, while a fifth goon, Moss Bettelyoun, assaulted the residents. In self-defense, Dave Clifford shot Bettelyoun. None of those who broke in or assaulted the residents were arrested or charged by either tribal courts or the U.S. Attorney, but within 12 hours of the incident, Dave Clifford was taken into custody and charged with assault to do great bodily harm. The U.S. Magistrate then imposed bail conditions on Clifford totally disarming him, and forcing his family to flee for safety. The house they lived in was shot up and firebombed, and their vehicles burned. No one was arrested or charged.

Matthew Kills Enemy, son of Frank Kills Enemy, was suddenly indicted for assault twenty months after the alleged incident. The indictment came right after his father testified on behalf of the Wounded Knee defendants in the Treaty Hearing.

In mid-April, Leonard Crow Dog, Chuck Longwell and Jim Turcott were arrested for assault with a dangerous weapon. They are charged with attacking an FBI agent with a hatchet and a chain saw – he was not injured and walked away from the fight.

Even when Gerald Big Crow, a Wilson-allied tribal councilman allegedly assaulted BIA Superintendent Trimble in Nebraska, he was not arrested or prosecuted.

Wilson's Power Comes from the Outside

This sort of selective law enforcement coupled with the murders has widened the chasm between people called "full-bloods" – a term which has nothing to do with racial blood quantum but are those who follow traditional ways, treaty rights, etc. – and people called "mixed bloods" (not to be confused with Metis) who are "moderns" or "progressives."

In the terminology of the reservation, Albert Trimble, recently removed from his post as BIA Superintendent of Pine Ridge, and himself an Oglala, says that "full bloods" who are 48% of the population account for over 90% of arrests by U.S. police.

"The real victims of law and order on this reservation are the full-blood Indians who are cycled and re-cycled through this damn jail for the most menial violations," Trimble said. "If you're a mixed blood and are aggressive enough to tell a policeman to go to hell, you can do anything you want. If you're a friend of Wilson's, you can do anything."

According to Trimble, about half the federally-employed BIA police have long felt their first allegiance is to Wilson. Matters worsened, Trimble says, when Wilson armed and uniformed his goon squad with money from federal grants for a "Highway Safety Program" and "Tribal Rangers".

These are just fronts, according to Trimble. "They're all goons. Each of these tribal programs has a director that draws $12,000 to $15,000 a year."

With the median income of "full bloods" far less than $800 a year, and 70% unemployment on the reservation, the economic distance between Wilson's 754 well-paid tribal employees and the traditional Indians is as wide as any ideological rift.

In essence, this war combines a struggle against colonialism with religious and political war. By challenging Wilson, the full bloods threaten everything the "moderns" have accumulated, most of it in payments from the U.S. to maintain the status quo. And they disdain the "progressive's" way of life, continuing to practice the Oglala religion and culture, while the "moderns" have converted to Christianity and acculturated to the white life style.

Wilson's power comes only from the outside, and from the minority of people whose relief from poverty comes by supporting the U.S.-sponsored regime on the reservation.

With his small group holding almost all the wealth and power, and with total backing by Washington, Wilson's reservation government feels free to act as it wishes. Wilson has banned assemblies of five or more people, and often disrupts funerals, wakes, and religious ceremonies. During a recent wake for a deceased AIM member, two uniformed policemen invaded the home and confiscated the guest book. Wilson has forbidden Sun Dances except for the annual carnival event organized by his brother, Jim.

Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota called Pine Ridge "a police state" when he discovered that BIA police were photographing and intimidating the Indians that came to testify at Senate hearings about conditions there.

"We can deal with Wilson," Lorilei Means of AIM says. "We can fight like this – but what has got to change is the system of government on the reservation."

Right now, she says, the U.S. "can't afford to have a man like Russ Means in charge on the reservation. AIM is down there telling the Indians they don't have to lease their land for $2 an acre or sell it for $1.20 an acre. AIM is telling them they can get their own cattle, that they can start their own economic base, and won't have to be dependent on the Government. People are ready to die for making that change."

Lorilei Means knows lives are at stake. "The hard core will probably get killed off. Hell, we're struggling for our life. We're struggling to survive as a people."

Before this struggle, those partners of poverty – alcoholism, tuberculosis, suicide – claimed far more lives than any of the struggles between the American Indian Movement and the Wilson/U.S. regime.

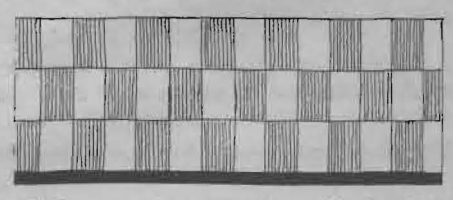
Statistics show Oglalas have an alcoholism rate five times the national average, and die of cirrhosis of the liver 3.2 times more often than other citizens. Tuberculosis claims 15% of the population, five times the rate for all other races in the U.S. Suicide is at least twice – some estimates say five times – as frequent on the reservation as in the U.S.

Why? The 1974 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare report cites "substandard housing, malnutrition, enforced idleness, and low educational achievement."

Death and despair breed here. Instead of a life of pride and spirituality, there are funeral processions, the welfare office and intoxication. Most of the grazing land is rented by white and near-white ranchers for $2 an acre a year. They have the capital to make it profitable, while the Oglalas live in settlements ranging from five to 1200 on the remaining, unproductive acreage.

There are no movie houses, museums, concert halls, theaters, restaurants, bars, or parks on Pine Reservation. In its 4,353 square miles, there is one public library and one bank – both in the predominantly white village of Martin. No public transportation exists either on the reservation or to towns outside.

The white towns which border the reservation are ramshackle, sleazy collections of bars, liquor stores and gas pumps without even a public toilet. All profit from what the reservation lacks. A single liquor store in the tiny town of White Clay netted $200,000 in 1974. The motels and bars of Chadron and Gordon, Nebraska, reported similar earnings from Indians and from tourist dollars that pass through Pine Ridge, unspent.



The FHA recently rejected as "unfeasible" a loan request for building a motel in Pine Ridge, which would have captured some of the tourist dollars. HUD is building some dreaded "cluster housing" projects on the reservation, but almost half of the Indian population reside in one or two-room houses, generally heated by wood stoves. HEW investigators found one famy of 21 persons living in one room. Water often comes from neighbors, creeks, or community houses.

What happens, then, to the $24-million in federal funds pumped through Pine Ridge Reservation each year?

Sizeable portions go to education, health facilities and general maintenance of public buildings and roads. The

rest is delegated to a less specific area – "administration and tribal programs." Albert Trimble, who as BIA superintendent should know, charges that the corrupt administration of Richard Wilson siphons off the remaining money.

The U.S. has been told of the fraud for two years now, but it has not acted. A U.S. commission is supposed to be investigating now – again.

"The grassroots Indian – the full-blood – is only supposed to live 42 years and gets only an eighth-grade education. That's the man the tribe points to when it asks for funding," Trimble says. "But when you see them get only welfare – and grudgingly at that – it kind of shakes your faith in what this system is supposed to be about."

Testimony from the Superintendent

Trimble says that Wilson uses nepotism and favoritism in his appointments, and has abused every program designed to help Indians become self reliant. Wilson's brother, Jim, is the $25,000-a-year head of the "tribal planning center" (and observers feel he is the brains behind anything intelligent Dick Wilson might do). Wilson's cousin is the "Housing Director." Wilson's uncle runs the realty office. Wilson's son – who was fired from the police force for drunkenness and brutality – is a "tribal ranger." The list continues.

"There's nothing in tribal law against nepotism," Wilson counters.

Wilson and his men also dispense justice. There has not been a jury trial on the reservation in five years.

Trimble grew up on Pine Ridge. Even his strongest critics concede he is honest, concerned, and intelligent.

"I know the Wilson background," Trimble said. "Hell, he lived a whole life of exploiting Indian people around here. His dad was a bootlegger. He's been a bootlegger himself."

As bootleggers, both smuggled liquor into the reservation, where it is banned by tribal ordinance, and selling it at inflated prices.

Trimble says "Wilson was close to being indicted for ripping off (HUD) housing program funds here four or five years ago. That's a matter of court records. Anybody who knows Dick Wilson's history knows that sooner or later, you're going to come up at odds with some of his designs. I had no illusions, but I thought I could stand up to it," Trimble says.

Trimble had not been a particular friend of AIM. His appointment had been welcomed by Wilson and booed by AIM, and his early moves on the job seemed to back up Wilson. Trimble's younger sister is a key aide in the Wilson administration, and his brother, Chuck, is president of the National Congress of American Indians. Both were opponents of the occupiers of Wounded Knee.

On March 17, the Interior Department announced special measures it was taking "to alleviate the situation and to help the Oglala Sioux Tribe find solutions to the causes which are disrupting the quality of life on the reservation."

But on March 20, Trimble was removed by BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson. Wilson freely admits that he had been lobbying in Washington for months to have Trimble removed.

"It took some time and it took some doihg," Wilson said. "Finally, they removed him."

Officially, Trimble was given a 60-day temporary assignment elsewhere. But he said it was "clear that I won't be returning here after the 60 days." Vincent Little, former Northern Idaho Agency superintendent has been posted at Pine Ridge.

Trimble has also been involved with acting area director Zephier over land sales and law enforcement issues. Zephier ordered Trimble to cease talking to the press. The matter has been made more difficult since both Zephier and Trimble have applied for the vacant area directorship.

Wilson first called for the removal of Trimble in late 1974 following an argument about Wilson allowing the sale of liquor at a rodeo. Wilson then took over the Pine Ridge jail, and released prisoners. He was never charged with any offense. Wilson also wanted tribal land sold to a person of less than 1/8 Indian blood – some 6,000 acres were involved. Trimble refused, but Zephier overruled him. Trimble appealed to Commissioner Thompson, and, it is rumored, Thompson allowed the land to be sold off.

When Thompson arrived in Oglala country, he scheduled a meeting with Dick Wilson in Rapid City, but scheduled no meeting with grassroots Oglalas. They came out a hundred strong to meet him just the same to protest the expected removal of Trimble. The group included several tribal council members, who told Thompson the council has not met regularly and would probably never meet again because of the threats to council members.

Law enforcement head Del Eastman was reassigned, and BIA special officer Clarence "Duke" Thompson of the Crow Reservation and Billie Allen of the Yakima Reservation were detailed to Pine Ridge to head up the police there. A ten-member contingent of Special Operations Service (SOS) police were sent to work under them. The new team willreport directly to acting area director Harley Zephier in Aberdeen.

It was Eastman who announced April 20-26 as "Law and Order Week" on Pine Ridge Reservation. "There have been charges, which I emphatically refute," he said, "of a breakdown of law and order on the reservation. Although we have received no increase in either personnel or budget, our force is very diligent and has been doing a good job."

BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson said Eastman was relieved of his duties in order to participate in "a training program" in Washington, D.C. "In light of the fact that there is what appears to us to be a lack of communication between he and the superintendent and between he and certain elements of the tribe, it was requested that he come in. It's no reflection on Mr. Eastman. He was scheduled for training anyway. It's not just a hokey thing."

The Interior Department also had the BIA ask the Justice Department "to assign additional judicial and staff personnel to Pine Ridge who would work on eliminating the current backlog of cases pending in the federal court system." The Justice Department personnel will include an assistant U.S. Attorney, FBI agents, a magistrate, "but not the U.S. Marshals. We are definitely not asking them to send the U.S. Marshals."

A "Secretarial Department Commission was established "to conduct a fact-finding investigation examining but not limiting its investigation to the effectiveness and efficiency of the BIA, and to the extent of the Department's responsibility to the Oglala tribal membership, the effectiveness and efficiency of the tribal governments in their addressing the political, social, and economic needs of the tribal membership."

SDC members are Stanley Doremus, deputy assistant secretary for programs, policy, and budget; Martin Seneca, director of BIA's office of trust responsibilities; Albert Nitzke, Minneapolis area field solicitor active during the Wounded Knee siege; Robert Livingston, director of Interior's office of Indian and territorial development; Ray Butler, chief, division of social services; and Scott Keep, assistant solicitor for Indian Affairs.

A Federal - Tribal Conspiracy Is Operating

One researcher has documented the "conspiracy" between tribal and federal authorities to keep Wilson in power and thus maintain colonial rule over the Oglala people.

Well over a year ago, Hank Adams of the Survival of American Indians Association made official complaints about the Pine Ridge situation, charging that a vicious alliance of tribal and federal officials" had transformed reservations into vile systems of corruption.

Researching a variety of secret and public documents, Adams said it was "distressing to find that U.S. Senators had sought investigative reports for use in publicity discrediting Indian protestors, and then see the reports pigeonholed in secrecy when the results have verified the Indians' claims and criticisms."

Adams claimed then in 1974 that the Justice and Interior Department agencies have been systematically abusing their authorities in South Dakota throughout the past decade – "denying police protection to Indian persons, properties, and rights, and refusing to prosecute offenses against them."

Adams points to a position developed jointly and adopted by the Justice Department, Interior Department, and certain powerful members of Congress. The memorandum of the Senate Interior Committee, headed by Senator Henry Jackson, during the course of the Wounded Knee siege, said: "Indian militants comprise a 'revolutionary Indian element' involved in symbolic actions arising from attempts to redress the bloody Indian past. They are not representative of the Indian population at large, are criminally oriented, and must be stopped by criminal prosecution before they create more havoc throughout Indian America."

As early as the late 1960s, even before AIM became known to Indians of South Dakota, large segments of

the Pine Ridge population were being branded as a "criminal element" who should be denied protections, rights, and services. Investigative FBI reports show that the decision was made by Interior, BIA, Justice and FBI and South Dakota's U.S. Attorney, William Clayton. The "disruptive criminal element" identified at that time included the chief tribal judge, a tribal Indian attorney, some members of the tribal council and police force.

The group of officials formulated an explicit policy against responding to requests for assistance from the "criminal element." The policy extended to Indians not actively opposed to that group. In order to maintain the strength of the federally-favored political forces, lawful protections were denied routinely even to persons identified as being "not a member of this unlawful element", Adams says, quoting the FBI reports.

Hank Adams. . .uncovering the conspiracy

The main offense of the "disruptive criminal element" was not violating laws, but simply questioning what the U.S. Government was doing, and by making small claims of personal legal entitlements and political rights, Adams noted.

"The political enemy lists on Pine Ridge have included many Indian families and large contingents of Indian children," he continued. "Even during Wounded Knee, BIA officials deliberately attempted to increase community hostilities against the Indians besieged in that village by removing and withholding food for children's lunches from several other reservation schools, then variously claiming that AIM had highjacked it or was threatening to."

In contrast, Adams points to "a man who unlawfully acquired enough land to make his family the third-largest single landowner on the Pine Ridge Reservation – all while in the employ of the BIA – despite the fact that there was not compliance with a Departmental order that the land sales, deed transfers and title conveyances be cancelled."

Adams found that the Justice Department official who investigated complaints against tribal government, abuse of police powers, and deprivations of legal and civil rights, in 1973 recommended that the entire Pine Ridge Reservation be placed in "receivership" under special administration, as was done with the Tony Boyle administration of the United Mine Workers. The White House said it had no objections, but Interior Department wouldn't go along with the idea, Adams says.

"Interior and Justice Department records disclose that reservation Indians in South Dakota have regularly been denied access to grand jury review of crimes committed against them" if they were not in favor with the U.S. Government, Adams found. If the magnitude of the crime was so great that it couldn't be hidden, like the slaying of Pedro Bissonette, "the victims or their survivors, who do not have benefit of any substantial investigative powers, must produce any evidence for consideration. The offices of U.S. Attorneys and the FBI withhold their investigative processes." Then, Adams notes, the federal attorneys tell the grand jury there is not sufficient evidence to prosecute.

[continued on next page]

Wilson Will Run Again

Wilson's election has been declared fraudulent by the United States Commission on Human Rights, but there have been no moves to order a recall or new elections.

Wilson has announced he will run for an unprecedented third term as tribal chairman in the primary early in December. He said he would continue his efforts to develop the reservation economically, efforts which, he says, have been constantly harassed by AIM and the Justice Department.

When Wilson's indictment was announced, he released a statement calling for aid from "people who support my open opposition to those violent individuals and groups. "I am asking for public support for my position by postcard, letter, or telegram to me at Box 484, Rapid City, S.D. 57701." At the same time, he announced formation of the "Indian Nation Restoration Committee" to "diligently pursue all legal recourses for the actions and indignities visited on the people of the Oglala Sioux Nation and other communities and states by AIM and its Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee." He said the committee would attempt to restore "the pride, dignity, and honor to the Indian nations."

He vowed that he "opposed violence in any form."

Wilson believes that some U.S. officials are secretly working with AIM to get rid of him. "It's a Communist conspiracy," he says. "I seriously suspect there is a concerted effort to eliminate me as an obstacle to those individuals and groups who would rule by threat, violence, armed occupation and extortion."

Virgil Kills Straight, a member of the tribal council who has announced his candidacy for the chairmanship, has called for Wilson's impeachment in response to the indictments. "The tribal council should not condone Wilson's violent actions, but should impeach him. This is a tribal council controlled by Wilson – this situation is colonialism."

AIM Convention at Farmington

The American Indian Movement has announced it "will hold its 8th annual National Convention at Farmington, New Mexico, June 6-18. National officers and policies for the coming year will be determined."

Among the major issues to be discussed are legislative and other legal strategy to halt all current and proposed actions of the Department of Interior, Energy Resources Development Agency, and corporate interests which will illegally take natural resources of native peoples. At the same time, it hopes to determine the effects of Interior's strip-mining and gasification programs as they relate to Indian land.

Of equal concern is the wave of violence agair.st Indian people, especially in the New Mexico Four Corners area. Delegates will discuss priorities in Indian education, and possibly the building of a strong national Survival School system.

In its first closed session in the organization's history, AIM completed a two-day meeting in Minneapolis April 20. Surfacing as the most important priority was the Survival School idea – and especially the schools now in operation in Rapid City, South Dakota, and in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. A fourth school may begin on the White Earth Reservation in northern Minnesota.

Education may become AIM's major stress. "To turn away from the spiritual ways handed down from time immemorial, abandoning the language of our grandfathers, is an invitation to cultural suicide. What we must do to discourage this process is to develop a course of action."

Also announced was a July 4 march from Keystone, South Dakota, to Mt. Rushmore, certain to be a big attraction on the big day of the Bi-Centennial Celebration of the U.S.

[Thanks to Cheryl McCall of Pacific News Service for her three-part series based on research aided by a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism, and to the Berkeley Barb. Thanks also to Suzan Shown Harjo of the American Indian Press Association Washington News Service, and to Liberation News Service for continuing coverage of the Pine Ridge situation. Information is also included here from Randy Furst of the Minneapolis Star, United Press International, Ron Kroese of the Rapid City Journal, Grace Lichtenstein of the New York Times, Newhouse News Service, James R. Dickenson of the Washington Star, and Robert Friedman, editor of University Review, for his article in Seven Days. Thanks also to Geoff O'Connell and Tom Lauerman of New Times.]

Jurors Have Bad Attitudes?

A study ordered by the Attorney General of the U.S. after the Government lost its case against Dennis Banks and Russell Means has concluded that the problem is the "jurors' attitudes."

The Justice Department study was kept secret until April 16, when a St. Louis Court of Appeals denied the prosecution's appeal of Judge Fred Nichol's decision.

"It seems . . . that these cases [political cases in the last seven years] were lost because they were tried before juries at least partially composed of people willing to be convinced of governmental misconduct, or willing to believe the exculpatory motives alleged by the defense," the report states. "The defense sought, and was able to evoke, the sense that the Government used the legal system to legitimize or enforce unpopular policies or decisions."

Joyce Selander, a juror in the Means/Banks trial, disagreed with that explanation for its failure to get convictions in the case she heard. "As far as I'm concerned, there wasn't sufficient evidence," she said. "You can't win a case when there's not enough evidence. The prosecution's overzealousness led to misconduct."

Another juror, Elaine Gorno, also disagreed with the Justice study. "They were very incompetent in the way they presented the case," she said. "I didn't think they should have gone to trial to begin with."

Sociologist Jay Schulman of the Fair Jury Project, a group that helps defense teams in political trials to select impartial jurors, pointed out that Justice was "examining the wrong question. They ought to have been looking at their own behavior – why they brought the cases, how they were conducted.

"The main reasons they lost were 1) misconduct and that they didn't have any case; 2) these *were* good jurors." Schulman continued. "That they were good jurors was the result of a lot of factors – they didn't just emerge. We did di a lot of hard work and that made a difference. We were able to get people in the jury box who were able to see what the Government was doing. Obviously, this doesn't happen in every trial."

The Jackson Redhorn Case

Jackson Redhorn has been getting more than his share of legal trouble and he believes it is all simply because he belongs to the American Indian Movement. Friends are massing a campaign to obtain his release from prison at Pleasanton, California. He has been held since April 2, 1974.

For three months, Jackson was held and harassed at Rocky Butte Jail in Portland. It was found that none of the Colorado charges were pending, and his release was obtained. Before he could hit the streets, however, he was hit with a hold from the state of Washington on a charge of forgery.

Redhorn's wife came for a visit on July 1, but the Portland jail told her Redhorn had been transferred. For a while, no one could discover where he had been taken, but finally a U.S. Attorney revealed he was in El Reno, Oklahoma. His wife went to Oklahoma to find he was being held in Denver, Colorado. As soon as a support movement began building for him there, he was moved to Kansas City. Six months after his arrest, his parole was offically revoked at a hearing held in El Reno Federal Reformatory, but because of the travelling distance, none of his witnesses were able to attend the hearing.

On that day, the FBI with the assistance of the Portland, Oregon, police arrested Redhorn, Oregon State AIM coordinator. The AIM headquarters was surrounded, and Redhorn was taken without a warrant on charges of parole violation, misuse of a credit card, disorderly conduct on the streets of Denver, and a Wounded Knee indictment. All charges were from Colorado.

The arrest was well timed. That evening, Redhorn was due to travel to Salt Lake City to participate in an AIM protest there against the Mormon church. Indian leaders in other states were arrested the same day.

Donations are needed to get a lawyer to represent Red Horn at his next parole hearing. Persons wishing to help, encourage, or publicize are asked to contact:

Jackson Red Horn Defense Committee
c/o United Front Bookstore
2266 NW Lovejoy
Portland, Oregon 97210

The Phoenix Connection

The possibility of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) personnel involvement coming out in the trial might have been one reason. But without saying why, the United States asked to withdraw charges against five American Indian Movement members for conspiracy to purchase and transport arms to Wounded Knee during the 1973 siege.

The original indictment alleged that in mid-April, 1973, the defendants – Russell Means, Stanley Holder, Herb Powless, Eugene Heavyrunner, and Ron Petite – gathered in a motel room in Rapid City, South Dakota, and discussed the purchase and transportation of firearms from Phoenix for use at Wounded Knee.

The U.S. claimed that Herb Powless gave Smith $2,000 and on April 24, Smith purchased three World War II-vintage rifles at a pawnshop in Phoenix. Powless was arrested by federal agents at the rear of the pawnshop immediately after the sale.

The defense had requested the amount of and the basis for Smith's pay as well as other records be made available to them. Federal Judge Walter Craig indicated to the prosecution it would have to provide the information, saying the matter would be discussed at a hearing April 18 when the question of electronic surveillance of the defendants would be investigated. But on April 5, the U.S. asked to forget the whole thing.

During the earlier hearings, Judge Craig had hurried through the legal argument, asserting the case was not a political matter and there was no use dallying with philosophy. "They're not being prosecuted for any political activity," he told attorneys. "If they were, the case would be thrown out."

Apparently there was something about the case the U.S. thought was political.

Smith had apparently been the Government's only witness in the case. "The entire conspiracy is the invention of a man named Lon Smith, who invented the idea, traveled to South Dakota, ultimately purchased the guns in a pawn shop, placed them in his own car, and ultimately the other defendants were arrested for allegedly conspiring with him," Ken Tilsen of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLDOC) pointed out.

There is also the Sioux Falls "leadership" cases of Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, Stanley Holder, and Clyde Bellecourt.

LAST MINUTE NEWS ADDED

Cedar Rapids, Iowa – Leonard Crow Dog, Carter Camp, and Stan Holder were found guilty in U.S. District Court here in early June. American Indian Movement executive director Dennis Banks has charged that the men were railroaded through a hasty trial in which virtually every defense motion was overruled.

Sentencing will be June 27, and Banks has called on AIM members and supporters to gather at Cedar Rapids for an encampment and rally at that time. It was expected that many persons attending the AIM Convention in Farmington, N.M., would move on up to Iowa.

Meanwhile, on June 8, Russell Means was shot in the back by a Bureau of Indian Affairs policeman at Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota. He was hospitalized in Bismarck, N.D., with wounds in his kidney. BIA officials termed the shooting "an accident". Means was walking to a friend's house to ride horses when the shooting occurred.

THE W.K. TRIALS

Sioux Falls Charges Dismissed

Felony charges were dismissed on May 5 against five American Indian Movement members and supporters who were on trial here on charges of "injury" to the Minnehaha County Courthouse.

The dismissal was granted by Judge Richard Braithwaite after six weeks of jury selection procedures when he found it would be impossible to get a fair and impartial jury in the State of South Dakota. The prosecution has announced it intends to appeal the dismissal.

In its motion to dismiss — the fourth one made since the case opened — the defense cited community bias and prejudicial publicity about the incident and against the defendants. The persons charged were Vern Bellecourt, a prominent AIM member; Lois Tiger and her daughter, Bobbi Jo Tiger, Sioux women from the Yankton Reservation; Allen Cooper, a supporter of AIM activities in Wounded Knee; and John Concannon, WKLDOC legal worker. In addition to the felony charge of injury in a public building, Lois Tiger also faced a life sentence for "soliciting to riot."

AIM leaders pointed out that persons already convicted from the Custer incident, and those awaiting trial should have charges dismissed since their juries also must have been prejudiced.

"It should be clear once and for all from the results of [jury selection] that AIM people cannot obtain a fair trial in the state of South Dakota where the jurors are inevitably the invaders of the land, whose lives and livelihood today are based on the spoils of their ripoffs of every square inch of the Western Hemisphere."

Referring to the police attack on spectators in the courtroom on April 30, 1974, which occurred after the spectators refused to rise as a sign of respect for Judge Joseph Bottum in the trial stemming from protests in Custer, Judge Braithwaite wrote in his ruling, "Though every juror questioned had, to some extent (many to a great extent) observed what the news media had to say about the events of April 30, relatively few remembered that anyone was injured, and most of those did not recall it until their memories were refreshed. For whatever reason, they found damage to this courthouse the significant thing about that day."

Judge Braithwaite said it was not essential that the bias of his fellow citizens be against the defendants personally.

"It is sufficient if that bias is toward a group of which the defendant is a member," he ruled. "All of them are members of AIM. All of them have expressed the opinion that a courthouse in this state is a symbol of injustice where Indians are concerned. It is my belief an impartial trial cannot be obtained in this county at this time."

Braithwaite also criticized the local news media coverage of the courthouse incident and the trial, saying that "bias in the community . . . has been fortified during the course of this trial by news media publicity."

After the dismissal, defendant Al Cooper told a press conference, "You [press people] don't know how powerful you are. With your jobs come the incredible responsibility of forming community opinion. What you print eventually is reflected in the courtroom. The press not only reflects but reinforces bias in the community which is the direct result of 400 years of genocidal policies against Indian people by the [U.S.] Government."

"Until the media begins to look at what is wrong with this state, why there is racism, no one connected with AIM, no Indian or Indian supporter, can get a fair trial," said defense attorney Roger Finzel.

John Concannon told reporters, "The fact that I am white in this society means I have racism ingrained in me. But I am fighting it and for me not to support the Indian struggle would be to condone the historical genocide against Indian people perpetrated by the U.S."

One local paper, the *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, protested the dismissal and commended the prosecution's decision to appeal. "A fair and impartial jury can be seated promptly in this county," the paper insisted in an editorial. "Minnehaha County citizens saw their courthouse damaged in a trial involving damage to another South Dakota courthouse. Now they have seen their judicial process stalled and they have heard AIM leaders call South Dakotans racist — again."

"This reinforces our supposition that the worst thing about this place is that people are unaware of their own racism," a WKLDOC worker said about the editorial.

In the six weeks of jury selection, 107 jurors were questioned by the court. Of these, 47 were determined by the court to have actual bias. 44 others asked to be excused for hardship reasons. 3 people admitted that they already had decided the guilt of the defendants. One person was eliminated by the prosecution, leaving 11 jurors. However, after going through 14 interviews with persons who, the court said, showed bias, the defense motion was granted.

The jury selection was closed to the public after a defense motion made with the hope that jurors would feel freer to be honest about their feelings. Braithwaite had also made a ruling that spectators would have to stand when he entered and left the courtroom — it was a similar ruling by Judge Bottum that had led to the original confrontation.

Despite the dismissals, the state prosecutors said they would continue to try eight more persons involved in the same incident. That trial will begin in August in Sioux Falls.

Meanwhile, In Council Bluffs . . .

The continuing unwinding of the hundreds of cases arising from the siege on Wounded Knee continued here in Council Bluffs, Iowa. Other trials had taken place in St. Paul, Minnesota; Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and Lincoln, Nebraska. On May 19, Frank Black Horse went on trial for assault and attempted murder before noted AIM-phobe District Judge Andrew Bogue of Rapid City, South Dakota. Black Horse faces a maximum sentence of 45 years for an alleged shooting of an FBI agent's gunhand during a chase in the early days of the 1973 siege.

The "leadership" trial of Stan Holder, Carter Camp, and Leonard Crow Dog began on June 2 and was over almost in moments. Camp and Crow Dog were found guilty, and they were jailed in lieu of bonds while an appeal is made. [Details, next issue.]

The defense has contended that the U.S. prosecution of the defendants is selectively designed to tie up American Indian Movement leadership. The U.S. is not saying that the three men individually disarmed four alleged postal inspectors who came into Wounded Knee during the occupation, but claim that as the leadership, they aided and abetted the "assault and robbery." The legal defense team is comprised of Fran Shreiberg of Berkeley, California; Ken Tilsen, long-time Wounded Knee defense attorney of St. Paul, Minnesota; and Joe Beeler, of Miami. They will show that the defendants acted reasonably and responsibly during the occupation, as opposed to the aggressive actions of the U.S.

Acquittal is expected simply because the U.S. lacks evidence, as well as on defense motions of discriminatory prosecution and denial of rights to a speedy trial. The defense has subpoened Kent Frizzell, acting Secretary of the Interior. Frizzell had served as the U.S. negotiator at Wounded Knee, who testified that he was held at gunpoint by Dick Wilson's vigilante police force during the occupation. Although FBI agents intervened, the assaulters were never arrested.

— Ger Burgman

Dave Hill After Police Riot. . . The Jurors Forgot

Bogue recently ordered the remaining Wounded Knee trials shifted from Council Bluffs back to South Dakota. He did not notify the defense attorneys in advance of his decision so that they could plan the shift of operations.

Throughout the time since the siege on Wounded Knee ended, WKLDOC has been forced to move from city to city as the U.S. assigned cases to idle courtrooms and willing judges. Generally, offices had to be maintained in a number of cities, increasing the expense of defense. At the present time, there are WKLDOC offices in Council Bluffs, Iowa; Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Rapid City, South Dakota; Sioux Falls, South Dakota; and St. Paul, Minnesota.

Of the hundred of people arrested during the siege, less than half were indicted. And of those indicted, the U.S. was forced to withdraw charges in well over half, and in the remaining cases, has been able to win less than a dozen cases.

A March To Halt Injustice

On April 7, about 100 American Indian Movement members and supporters held a "March to Halt Injustice" at the State Penitentiary in Sioux Falls. There, Robert High Eagle, John Carlson, and Kenneth Dahl have been imprisoned since their conviction on charges in connection with protests at Custer in February, 1973.

Leonard Crow Dog, an AIM spiritual leader, was allowed to enter the penitentiary. The others proceeded in a car caravan to a park near the Minnehaha County Courthouse. Speakers included Clyde Bellecourt, Eddie Benton, and Joyce Selander, a juror in the Wounded Knee leadership trial. She, along with most of the other jurors, is a member of Jurors and Others for Reconciliation.

Sentencing Postponed In Lincoln

In one of the few cases in which the U.S. got convictions, Judge Warren Urbom of Lincoln, Nebraska, has postponed sentencing of Alverado and Terry Williams, convicted in December by an all-white jury of fourth-degree burglary. Urbom said he would hold an evidentiary hearing on the infiltration of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee by FBI agent Doug Durham.

And In Other Wounded Knee Cases . . .

On March 28, Bernardo Escamilla was acquitted on charges of robbery of the Wounded Knee trading post during the 1973 siege. He was also acquitted of use of a firearm in the commission of a felony. Judge Bogue instructed the jury that they could find Escamilla guilty on a lesser charge, which they did — simple assault, a misdemeanor.

The U.S. also lost an appeal in the case of Greg Jaramillo and Mike Sturdevant. They had been acquitted of charges of "willfully, knowingly, and unlawfully obstructing U.S. Marshals and FBI agents engaged in the lawful performance of their duties" during the siege on Wounded Knee. The 8th Circuit Court of Appeals agreed with the trial judge that the federal officials were "not lawfully engaged in the lawful performance" of official duties. The U.S. contended that the two men had received only dismissals, not acquittals, and therefore it could initiate new charges against them, but the Appeals panel disagreed.

The trial of Dennis Banks on charges of arson and riot, stemming from the Custer courthouse police riot of February 6, 1973, is also scheduled to begin in June — in the Custer courthouse.

Jim Roubideaux Arrested

More than two years ago, there was the protest in Custer, South Dakota. But on April 1, James Roubideaux was arrested at his home on the Rosebud Reservation.

"They've known where we are," said Johnny Sue Robideaux, James' wife. "They've just taken this particular time to move against native American people."

The grand jury which issued the Custer indictments two years ago handed down three "John Doe" indictments, leaving it open for the U.S. to make such arrests.

Robideaux was in a car with Leonard Crow Dog, who was a spiritual leader of the Wounded Knee occupation on March 29 when Crow Dog was arrested on an assault charge. The next day, U.S. Marshals came to Robideaux's home, asked him his name, and said, "We have something for you — we'll be back."

After his arrest, he was arraigned in Custer on charges of simple riot, assault with dangerous weapon without intent to kill, and third-degree burglary. Bond was set at $22,500.

The Custer incident took place February 6, 1973, when several hundred native persons came to Custer to demand justice in the charges against a white businessman who had killed Wesley Bad Heart Bull and was charged with second-degree manslaughter, rather than murder.

Robideaux had originally been a co-defendant with Ted Means in a Wounded Knee conspiracy charge, but that charges were withdrawn by the U.S.

Contributions for the continuing legal defense, and for bonds, can be made to:

Wounded Knee Legal
Defense/Offense Committee
Box 918
Council Bluffs, Iowa 51501

[On March 13, at a press conference, leaders of the American Indian Movement produced Doug Durham, a senior security officer for AIM, who admitted having acted as a paid operative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Durham had for almost two years filed regular reports on the plans and activities of AIM, including the plans and strategies of defense attorneys. This article is an excerpt of one appearing in the May 14, 1975, issue of Christian Century, *and is by John P. Adams, a staff member of the United Methodist Church's Board of Church and Society, and a member of the National Council of Church's peace-keeping team sent to Wounded Knee during the 1973 siege.]*

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It should not surprise us to learn that there are informants and operatives functioning in our society.

Yet [Doug] Durham's infiltration of the American Indian Movement is puzzling in that it was apparently motivated neither by financial reward nor by any patriotic appeal. He claims to have entered the movement as the result of a challenge issued by a fellow FBI agent. Durham had made a one-day trip to Wounded Knee in March, 1973, posing as a photographer for *Pax*, a now-defunct Iowa underground newspaper. When he returned to his home town of Des Moines, he turned over to the FBI a complete set of pictures he had taken within [the Oglala] defense perimeter at Wounded Knee, and gave a detailed report of activities he had observed.

One agent suggested that Durham take the pictures to Harvey Major, a local Indian activist, and that he try to get close to the small AIM chapter in Des Moines, which Major headed. "If you really wanted to," the agent added, "you could go clear to the top of the American Indian Movement." That was the challenge, and as Doug Durham would later explain, "I am susceptible to challenges."

Within a month, Durham had become vice-chairman of the Des Moines AIM chapter; within ten months, he was national chief of security for AIM and coordinator of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense office in St. Paul, Minnesota. He had also established and become director of a new national office for AIM. In these positions, he held strategic control over AIM's operations during the 8½-month federal trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means in St. Paul. As Durham told the March 13 press conference, "If you wanted to see Dennis or Russell, you had to see me first. If you wanted to work as a volunteer in the offices of AIM or the Legal Defense/Offense Committee, it had to be cleared with me. If you wanted money, I controlled that also."

Durham was paid for his work by the FBI – usually in cash, an average of $1,000 a month. But Durham's motivation for accepting the difficult and potentially-dangerous undercover assignment was, he says, that the role tested his skills and placed demands on his abilities. Durham is a licensed pilot (4,000 hours logged), a professional photographer, an electronics expert, a specialist in locking devices, an accomplished scuba diver, and an expert marksman. He has experience in business management, and has written papers on the use of theatrical make-up in creating disguises for undercover agents.

Although Durham has only what he calls "a smattering of Indian blood," barely traceable on his father's side of the family, he has facial features which, when accented, seem to substantiate his claim of being one-fourth Chippewa. He attended a Chippewa Indian School as a child – a point that could be readily verified.

With his long black hair (dyed), studded headband, beaded belt buckle, and turquoise jewelry, Durham became a visibly bona-fide member of the American Indian Movement. The skills which he brought to AIM matched some serious needs of the movement in the wake of the Wounded Knee occupation. Durham was, as an AIM lawyer described him, "an attractive package."

Confronting the Church in Iowa

Shortly after Durham "got close" to Harvey Major, chairman and founder of the Des Moines AIM chapter, Durham began making contacts with Des Moines area churches. [Major, an Ojibwa from the Kenora, Ontario, area, moved to Iowa where he was a barber. He was fatally injured in an automobile accident last October.] In April, 1973, while the Wounded Knee occupation was in process on the Pine Ridge Reservation, Major decided to occupy the grounds of the First Church of the Open Bible. [Des Moines is the headquarters for the small denomination, which holds substantial property in the city.]

The AIM group demanded, among other things, $50,000 from the Open Bible Church as payment for "the neglect of the American Indians since the church's existence", assurance that no criminal or civil actions would be instituted against the Indians occupying the grounds of the Open Bible Church, and a commitment that a meeting of Des Moines clergy would be called, at which the ministers would be asked to sign a treaty acknowledging the past neglect on the part of their churches and pledging the support of programs to benefit American Indians in Des Moines and throughout the state.

Although the occupation of the church grounds was not his idea, Durham was the author of the list of 16 demands, and he became a primary liaison with the church. After a week-long occupation of its grounds, the Open Bible Church agreed to call a meeting of local ministerial associations and agreed not to bring charges against Major and his supporters.

At the ministerial meeting, Durham presented a program for the establishment of an American Indian Development Center in Des Moines; it was proposed that the churches pledge $33,000 a year for its operation. The clergy expressed support for the proposal.

The occupation of the grounds of the Open Bible Church was ended, and the plan was subsequently submitted to the religious organizations for their support. When the Iowa annual conference of the United Methodist Church met in Des Moines in June, a large number of Indians occupied the grounds of the United Methodist area headquarters building in the city to force further consideration of the development center. The United Methodists were at that point the only denomination that had made an actual contribution to the center, but the amount demanded of them was then increased.

Not only was support sought for the center in Des Moines, but the Indians also wanted the Iowa annual conference to furnish $150,000 in bail funds for Dennis Banks, national executive director of the American Indian Movement – indicted by a federal grand jury on nine charges related to Wounded Knee, on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list, and, according to Harvey Major, "in hiding because of fear that his life might be endangered in the process of incarceration and because of the excessively high bond."

The church people's confrontation with the Indians at the United Methodist building was channeled into discussions in two conference agencies. Durham made the major presentation before the council on finance and administration, and according to those who attended the session, the FBI operative offered a strong moral argument, complete with scriptural quotations, in support of the proposal that the Iowa annual conference furnish Banks' bail.

Ultimately, the conference – composed of both lay and clergy members – voted 564 to 429, after a 90-minute debate, to provide $85,000 toward the bail for Banks. The conference also voted an amount up to $15,000 as the United Methodist share in an ecumenical effort to create an American Indian Development Center in Des Moines and called upon Bishop James Thomas to appoint a task force on American Indian issues. Following the annual conference, the United Methodists in Iowa endeavored to sponsor discussions between other denominations and the American Indians to expedite the establishment of the development center.

ANATOMY OF AN INFORMER

Suspicions Within AIM

Since I had been involved in the Wounded Knee occupation as a liaison for the National Council of Churches, I was asked to come to Des Moines to help mediate the discussions and negotiate the detailed plans for the center. I met Douglass Durham in these sessions – he was one of the three AIM representatives present at every meeting and the "Indian" who developed specific written proposals for the consideration of the church leaders. He was obviously trusted by the other Indians, and his work was respected by those who represented the churches.

While I was in Des Moines, one minister suggested to me that Doug Durham was working for the FBI and recommended that I check it out with the Bureau. I didn't, for I believed that it was not my role to investigate any of the members or the leaders of the movement – and by this time, Doug was a leader. The worst thing I could do, I had long ago been convinced, was to raise questions about the identity, loyalty, or effectiveness of anyone in the American Indian Movement. Questions were constantly being raised about most of the leaders of AIM, and as a matter of fact, at Wounded Knee I once had been interrogated for more than an hour because circumstances led some Indians to conclude that I was an FBI agent.

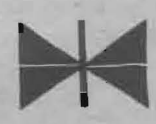
It was fully appropriate for the American Indian Movement to check me out. I was convinced that they would check out others – including Doug Durham. Therefore I did not call the FBI when it was suggested that Doug was their employee. On further thought, I concluded that even if I had called Bureau staff people, they would probably not have acknowledged that Doug was their operative – or they might have said he *was*, even if he was not, simply to discredit him as an AIM representative. I decided it was none of my business, as did Bishop Thomas and other Iowa United Methodist leaders.

[Durham, 37, had worked as a police patrolman, informer, and undercover agent in Iowa and Nebraska before he infiltrated AIM. He had been mentioned prominently in newspaper articles in Des Moines as a figure in a police scandal there, and as a paid informer for the city's police department shortly before he joined AIM. "I can't believe with all the publicity that AIM didn't know who he was," Des Moines Police Chief Wendell Nichols said. He said his department couldn't use Durham as an informer then "because he was too well-known. Durham had been a Des Moines patrolman from 1960 to 1972 but was asked to resign because "he just wasn't cut out to be in police work."]

There may have been suspicions within AIM at the time, and those suspicions prompted an armed seizure of the Grimes State Office Building in Des Moines in August, 1973. Ten Indians, eight of them carrying loaded rifles and handguns, took over the second floor of the Iowa state office building and held it for three hours. According to the *Des Moines Register*, "Douglass Durham, spokesman for the eight armed Indians who seized the second floor, said they represented the American Indian Development Center."

After prolonged negotiations, Iowa state highway patrol captain E.J. Dickinson gave the Indian leaders an ultimatum: "You have five minutes from now to have them turn in their weapons and surrender to arrest. I don't have to tell you what the consequences will be if they do not." The Indians – including Douglass Durham – submitted.

Eighteen months later, Durham told AIM leaders that he had informed state authorities 24 hours before the incident that there would be an armed takeover of the state office building and that he would lead it. Durham and the others were arrested in the office building. Durham pleaded guilty – a conviction never entered on any record books in Iowa. According to Durham, the State of Iowa paid his fine. The incident served to raise Durham's credibility within the movement, for he had demonstrated that he was ready to take risks to bring the grievances of Indians to the attention of the authorities. Undoubtedly, the event also increased Durham's credibility with the FBI, for he had been able to exercise leadership and to persuade the Indians to submit to arrest.



Dennis Banks traveled to Des Moines in August, 1973, in the wake of the arrest at the Grimes State Office Building, to meet with Governor Robert Ray about Indian problems in the State of Iowa. The hour-and-15-minute meeting was described by a governor's aide as "cordial and productive." The meeting was also productive for Doug Durham, for it provided an opportunity for him to "get close" to Banks.

But Durham was moving on rather shaky ground. AIM was in a state of disorganization after the large number of indictments and the heavy bail demands, and suspicions were running high about FBI and CIA infiltration. In August, 1973, Clyde Bellecourt, director of AIM, was shot in the abdomen and critically wounded by another

AIM leader, Carter Camp, at a meeting of the movement leadership on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation. Russell Means, who witnessed the shooting, said there had been a confrontation over informants in the movement, and commented, "Federal officials are paying off some of the AIM leadership to turn on other leaders. Clyde thought Camp was being paid off."

It was in this climate of suspicion that Durham was inching toward a position as a nationally-recognized AIM leader. When Durham admitted having been an FBI agent for two years, assigned to infiltrate the American Indian Movement, he told Dennis Banks and Vernon Bellecourt that his instructions had been to "protect the life of Dennis Banks and enhance the credibility of the American Indian Movement."

That was a strange assignment for the FBI to give to an operative within a movement, and it differed considerably from Cointelpro (Counter-Intelligence Program) FBI assignments in which disruptive techniques had been employed against radical political groups from 1956 to 1971.

[The FBI continued disruptive techniques and harassment against domestic political groups both before and after its controversial counterintelligence program was terminated according to two former senior FBI officials. The efforts were aimed at disrupting such groups as the Socialist Workers Party, Black Panthers, etc. by undercover operations. Some of the FBI tactics included sending anonymous materials to members of groups, hoping it would cause dissention and cause disruption; the use of informants to disrupt activities; leaking information – either true or fictitious – to employers, credit bureaus, families about "illegal, immoral, radical and Communist activities".]

[Long-term surveillance of the Underground Press Syndicate, of which AKWESASNE NOTES is a member, has been taking place since 1966, according to documents relinquished by the FBI under court order recently. Tactics used included mail opening, copying bank records, and perhaps breaking-and-entering. UPS, now known as Alternative Press Syndicate, is contemplating a lawsuit for damages as the result of infringement of the First Amendment, which protects freedom of the press.]

Bringing Banks Back

In September, 1973, additional South Dakota charges were filed against Dennis Banks for his role in a protest at the Custer County courthouse. Only days after the indictment was returned by the grand jury, Banks left the country and hid among some Indians friendly to AIM's cause in the bush country of the Canadian Northwest Territory. Leaving the country violated the terms of his release on bail, and immediately placed in jeopardy the $105,000 federal bond, $85,000 of which had been provided by the Iowa United Methodists. Banks was scheduled to appear in federal court on October 4, 1973. No one had heard from him in weeks.

I telephoned Banks' attorney, Ramon Roubideaux, in Rapid City, South Dakota, and asked him [could] he help me get in touch with Dennis? "I don't have a direct contact," Roubideaux said, "but you can call a telephone number in Edmonton, Alberta, and talk to Doug Durham."

Durham was well aware of the problem [of Dennis forfeiting bail.] "Every message I try to get through to Dennis is getting garbled by the next intermediary. I need to fly directly to him, but I'd have to rent a float plane to do it."

I checked back with Bishop Thomas and the arrangements were made for Doug to rent a float plane – the only way he could get to Dennis in the bush country. He flew into the far north, through storms, and located Dennis, who, after hearing the rationale for his returning, decided to come back and face the state charges.

In the meantime, the federal judge, at Durham's request, granted a delay in the court appearance which allowed sufficient time for Doug to fly Banks [and three other people] back to Edmonton – all of them using assumed names and false identification provided by Durham. In Edmonton, Durham changed planes, flew the plane near ground level under the defense warning system, and slipped back into the U.S. with his passengers, one of whom was being sought as a fugitive on a warrant filed by the FBI special agent-in-charge in Minneapolis.

Hours before Dennis Banks was scheduled to appear in a Rapid City courtroom, Durham landed the plane, which was dangerously low on gasoline, in the middle of the night on a darkened and unused airstrip at the edge of Rapid City. The next day, just before the time of his scheduled appearance in a state court, Dennis Banks walked quietly into the courthouse, accompanied by his attorney and Doug Durham. Banks was arrested, arraigned, and released on bail. The next day he appeared in federal court.

This whole sequence adds to the puzzle. Durham, by bringing back Dennis Banks, helped him avoid arrest as a fugitive, enabled Banks to effect his own decision to return to the U.S., gave assistance to the Movement by returning its national executive director, saved the $85,000 which the Iowa annual conference would have lost if Banks had forfeited his bond – and undoubtedly gained information which he, as a paid operative, reported to the FBI.

Undercover at the Federal Trial

When the federal trial of Banks and Russell Means was moved to St. Paul, Doug Durham also moved to St. Paul and was named by Banks as national security chief of the American Indian Movement. Durham, with his considerable organizing skills, laid plans for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense office, set up the AIM security force at its headquarters and at the federal courthouse, and coordinated most of the Movement's day-to-day activities while Means and Banks went on trial.

From time to time, someone would raise questions about Durham – but he countered those questions by checking even more closely on the security clearances of others. Once he had all of the AIM leaders and their attorneys come to the basement of the building in which the legal defense office was located to watch a telephone repairman check for telephone taps. He had called the telephone company to complain about the interception of AIM calls by the FBI – the company admitted that there was an outside alien power source.

Sometimes Durham would expose others in the movement, claiming that they were infiltrators. James Wall reported such an incident in *The Christian Century* ("Wounded Knee Comes to Trial", March 6, 1974). Writing from St. Paul, Wall told of going to an AIM powwow one night:

"The 'security chief' who greeted me said that plans for the evening included some folk singing. He then pointed to the young Indian guitarist who was to accompany the singer, and said: 'In just a minute, we're going to expose him as an FBI informer.' And shortly they did, first taking him backstage for questioning, and then bringing him out to announce to the people: 'This fellow has just admitted spying on us for the FBI. Take a good look at him, because he's not coming back anymore.' The accused man was escorted from the room, and I'm told he was picked up by an unmarked car as he ran from the building."

The "Security Chief" was Doug Durham – which simply means that what Wall witnessed was an ex-policeman FBI operative, posing as an Indian, exposing an FBI informant who really was an Indian.

[Two other former FBI operatives, Harry E. (Ji) Schafer III and his wife, Jill, told of similar disruptive activity they undertook at the Bureau's direction. They had used a bogus New Orleans front group, the "Red Collective" as a base. Mrs. Schafer has said that in early 1973, about three years after becoming an FBI informant, she organized a demonstration in front of the FBI's New Orleans office to raise money for AIM. They brought the funds to Rapid City where, with FBI permission, they set up an alternative fund-raising operation that diverted money from AIM to an unidentified group of Indians who were, Mrs. Schafer felt, "legitimately interested in the welfare of their own people."

[Harry Schafer, another licensed pilot, said that after the besieged village of Wounded Knee had been cut off by U.S. forces, he accepted a shipment of food and supplies from Indians and with the knowledge of his FBI superiors, agreed to fly it from a point in the MidWest and drop it by parachute over Wounded Knee. However, he purposely delayed his arrival by reporting "inclement weather" at stopovers along the way, arriving in South Dakota only after the siege had ended and the supplies were no longer needed.]

Durham was so able to deflect suspicion of his undercover role that he fully penetrated the legal defense team during the federal trials of Banks and Means. Not only did he have a pass which enabled him to enter the closely-guarded legal-defense room in the federal courthouse – he had the authority, given to him by AIM, to check and approve the access of all other persons. He was frequently present when attorneys and defendants were reviewing evidentiary documents and planning legal strategy.

During the Means-Banks trials, U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol ordered the federal prosecution team to search FBI files for possible evidence of FBI informers. On April 3, 1974, R.D. Hurd, assistant U.S. attorney for South Dakota, filed an affidavit in court saying that the search produced no evidence that the defense camp had been infiltrated. Joseph Trimbach, special agent-in-charge of the Minneapolis FBI office, had also assured the court that the FBI had not infiltrated the AIM defense camp.]

[Appearing in May in the Crow Dog/Camp/Holder trial in Cedar Rapids, Trimbach continued to deny that he was aware of any defense infiltrators. However, the next witness, ex-FBI agent Ray Williams said that Durham had been known to Trimbach from the very beginning. Williams also stated that after Judge Nichol ordered to expose all FBI infiltration of the defense, he told U.S. attorneys about the Durham file, but this information was never disclosed to the defense as the court had ordered.]

[On May 3, there was a hearing in Lincoln, Nebraska, before U.S. Judge Warren Urbom, to determine the role infiltrators played in the disruption of the defense of those convicted in the Wounded Knee trials. Judge Urbom will decide whether U.S. misconduct due to the presence of Durham and the Schafers seriously offended the defendants' constitutional rights to counsel. Urbom could decide that the cases should be reopened, and the trials held again. Or he could decide with the defense that the charges should be dropped altogether because U.S. misconduct has irrevocably tainted the prosecution to the point that the defendants could never get a fair trial.]

[Like Durham, the Schafers were also known as "hard workers." At Wounded Knee, Harry Schafer aroused suspicions by behaving in a disruptive manner. He unsuccessfully tried to organize an airlift of guns and ammunition; called numerous friends around the country and asked them to come to Wounded Knee and bring guns; took part in spreading false rumors that nearly led to a split in the leadership of the American Indian Movement; apparently set up the arrest of one of the Oglala leaders,

[continued on next page]

Douglass Durham, AIM/FBI: dyed hair, turquoise jewelry, beaded buckle

Pedro Bissonette; and at one point, threatened the life of one of the defense lawyers.]

[On May 26, Clarence M. Kelley, FBI Director, said that "when our investigative methods come in conflict with our society's changing values and priorities, then we change our methods." He was addressing graduating seniors of Southwest High School at a baccalaureate service. "In our intelligence operations, it is certainly not our purpose to intimidate persons with radical views, nor do we seek to reshape their moral, political, or philosophical views. The basic aim of intelligence work is to obtain advance notice of criminal activity planned by individuals or groups so that preventative action can be taken. But I want you to be assured that, despite what our critics say, the FBI will not engage in lawless activity or cynically ignore the legacy of constitutional rights Americans have inherited."]

An FBI spokesman in Washington, while neither affirming nor denying that Durham had worked for the FBI, said that he never reported any legal defense information to the Bureau. AIM attorneys are claiming that Durham interfered with attorney-client relationships in the 25 remaining Wounded Knee cases and have asked for dismissal of all charges on the basis of the new evidence.

Converting to the Movement

Durham was able to gain the trust of the leadership of the American Indian Movement because he worked hard. He accepted heavy responsibilities and performed well. He maintained a life style consistent with that of others in the movement – accepting uncomfortable living conditions, eating the same kind of modest meals. When there was a special problem, Doug would try to meet it. For instance, at the International Treaty Conference, held on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation at Mobridge, South Dakota, last June, there was an outbreak of hepatitis in the large encampment of Indians who had come from throughout the U.S., Canada, and South America. Durham flew a small plane for three straight days and nights to locate and deliver an adequate supply of gamma globulin serum and syringes to the reservation. The hepatitis was contained.

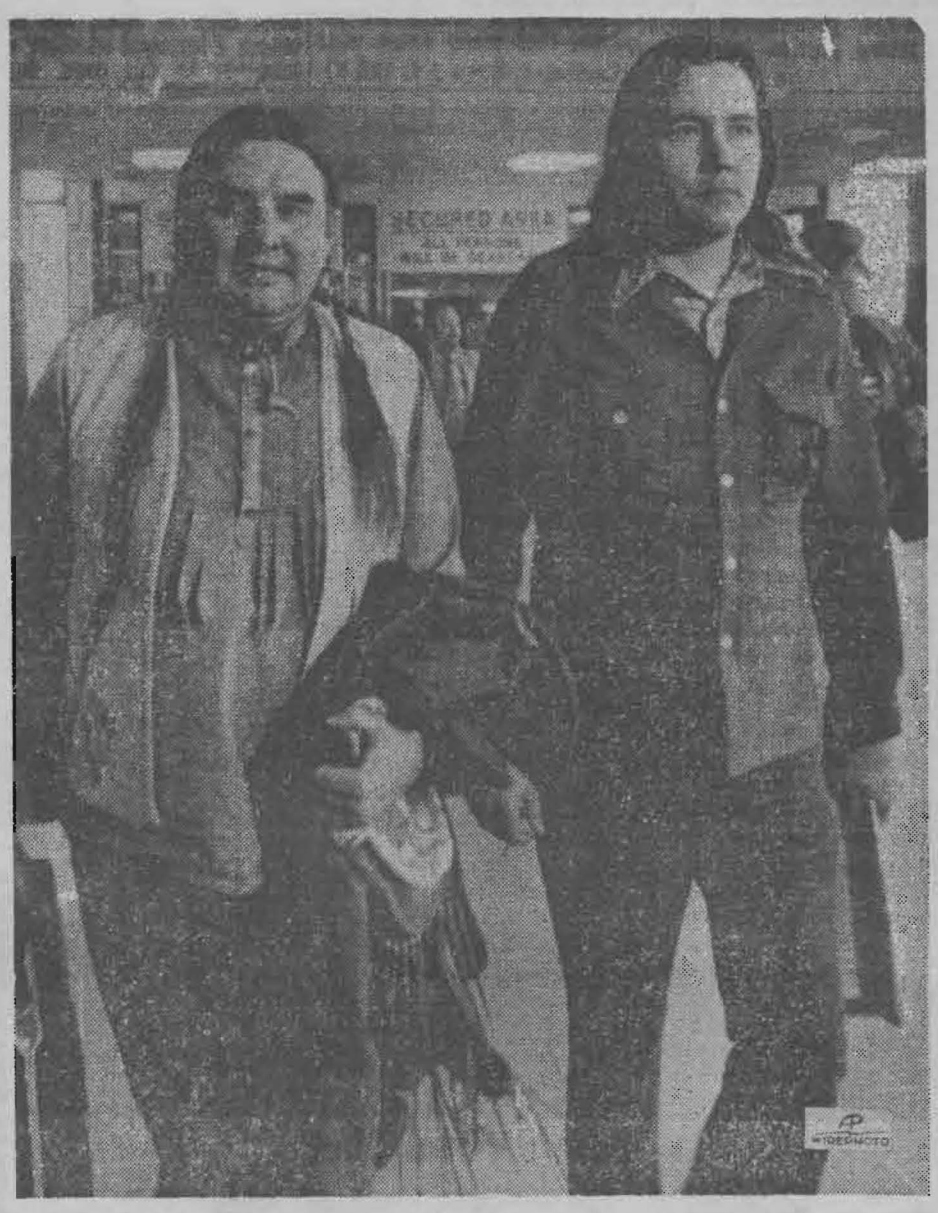
When Durham worked in Shawano, Wisconsin, in January during the occupation of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate by the Menominee Warrior Society in nearby Gresham, he frequently acted as a mediator between groups in conflict.

Doug Durham told the AIM lawyers in early March of this year that the FBI agents to whom he reported advised him, "Use your conscience and work honorably." Doug later reflected, "That was a mistake on their part." He began to see for himself the social injustices the American Indian Movement was protesting. "I had never seen such poverty," Durham said.

He also became increasingly impressed with Dennis Banks. "I wish I were half the man that Dennis is," Doug told me. "He is a rational and responsible man. He is a viable, logical, and peaceful leader of a necessary social protest movement." Doug was particularly affected by the fact that Banks never kept any of his speaking fees for his personal use, but always turned them in to the AIM treasury.

"One of the most unjust things this Government could do," Durham said, "is to lock up Dennis Banks. It would be like putting a basket over the last light bulb."

"I turned 180 degrees," he said. "I also believe that I changed the attitudes of a few FBI agents toward the American Indian Movement. Ultimately, I guess I was conducting a kind of sensitivity program about AIM for the Bureau. I saw AIM as a social protest organization that is not illegal, does not do anything wrong, and in fact . . . is morally right. The only thing I saw wrong about the American Indian Movement is that it was infiltrated."



Vernon Bellecourt (left) and Doug Durham (right) headed for airport press conference and the moment of truth.

When AIM attorneys interviewed him, after he had admitted his role as a paid undercover agent for the FBI, he continued to use the pronoun "we" when he referred to the American Indian Movement. When he spoke of the FBI, he consistently said "they".

Durham became so well accepted as an Indian that he was invited to participate in the sacred Sioux Sun Dance, held on the Rosebud Reservation last August. He feigned a serious illness and disappeared for two weeks because he felt that it would be sacrilege for him to dance in the ceremony and participate in the "piercing" ritual in which only the most devout and courageous are permitted.

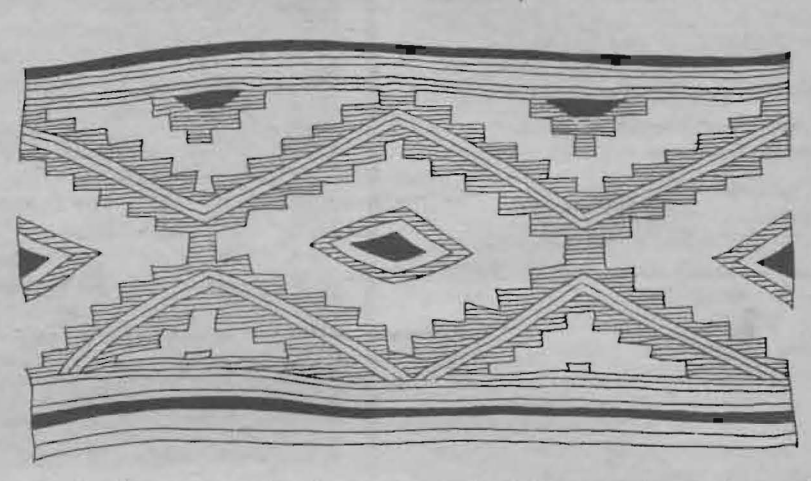
Surveillance For the Churches?

Apparently Durham's contact with the churches played a part in his gradual turning toward a support of social justice. Doug told Charles Hightower of the *United Methodist Newscope* that "my dealings with Bishop Thomas and John Adams made me realize more and more that I shouldn't be here in the capacity I am."

Durham was able to observe the church's dealings with the American Indian Movement closely, for he was frequently in contact with church representatives on behalf of Dennis Banks and other AIM leaders. Sometimes the only AIM representative in a church meeting, he spoke convincingly of AIM's objectives, plans and needs.

Durham maintains he never reported to the FBI on his discussions with church representatives, but he concedes that the Bureau was aware of his wide-ranging church contacts in his AIM role. Durham's conclusion, after monitoring the church involvement with AIM: "I feel that the churches have come through the whole thing admirably. There was no way that I could have attacked the stand of the church – with its moral concern for social justice. There was no way that I could have sneaked, snooped, crept or crawled and found anything wrong with the way the church acted."

Yet there are serious issues raised by the fact that a government agent attended church meetings while posing as a leader of a social protest movement. The fact remains that a paid operative of the FBI not only infiltrated the American Indian Movement, but the United Methodist Church and other church bodies as well.



If the church allows this infiltration to pass unchallenged, the way may be opened for a more systematic monitoring of church business by government investigative agencies. In a political climate of fear, a full and continuous investigation of the churches might be given warrant by some future government official. Later, we would look back and ask ourselves why we did not question the instances of indirect governmental surveillance of the church's ministry.

Doug Durham, from his experience as an FBI undercover agent, commented: "When you start looking for potential criminal activities and engage an undercover agent to be on the lookout for this, and in the course of reporting, report everything, what you're doing is saying that every citizen is a potential criminal: therefore, no citizen in the United States escapes the possibility of being a subject of surveillance. If movement groups are infiltrated because they have the potential for committing crimes, then it is only a small step to the full invasion of any citizen's privacy, for every individual has the potential for committing a crime."

The church ought to be realistically aware that it becomes subject to investigation whenever it shares the vulnerability of the social protest groups that seek justice in our society. The concern is a larger one that relates to individual citizens as well as to protest groups. Jerry V. Wilson, former chief of the Washington, D.C., metropolitan police and now a columnist for the *Washington Post*, recently wrote about "Undercover Police Work" (*Washington Post*, January 31). Wilson commented that police intelligence operations often make people uncomfortable because the operation "collects information about people who may not be violating the law, and in any event, are unlikely to be formally accused and allowed to defend themselves against intelligence findings."

Rather than protecting themselves, perhaps the churches need to become more vulnerable. Whenever social protest groups become the target of infiltration and surveillance, the church ought to express a concern and provide a presence. For as Durham said, "So many intelligence reports are self-fulfilling prophecies."

It has been my experience that the movement groups welcome the presence of the church, extending trust and furnishing far more information than the churches (and the public agencies) are ready to deal with. In this trust relationship, the church is regularly given the opportunity to observe the whole scene and monitor the action of everyone involved. The church's very presence may provide a counterbalance

to the inevitable undercover agents, and it may also offer additional nonviolent options for a social protest group to use in effectively channeling its grievances.

IROQUOIS

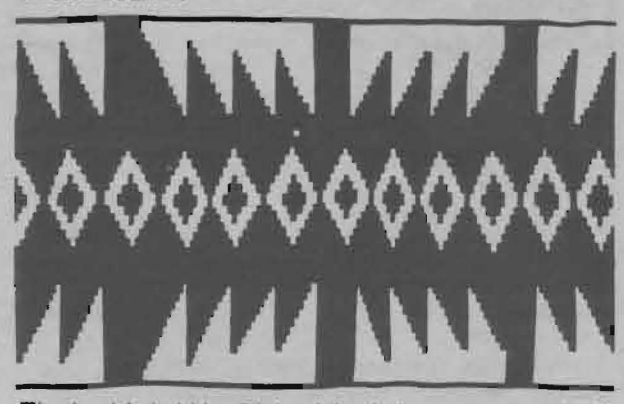
STATE COURT RULING UPHOLDS TRADITIONAL VIEW IN AKWESASNE CONTROVERSY

Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne – The New York State Supreme Court has overturned a Franklin County Court ruling that ordered the eviction of two Mohawk men and their families from the Mohawk reservation here.

The initial court action had been started by the elected council to evict traditional people from land which they had recently obtained for their homes and food-raising. The elected group had stated that the persons involved were not members of the St. Regis Mohawks because their names did not appear on the tribal annuity roll. Judge Lawrence of the county court agreed with District Attorney Owen Grogan and the elected council that tradition and customs had nothing to do with membership, which derived from having one's name "on the roll".

However, the Appeals Court said the annuity list was just that – a list of people who received their annual $1 from lands which the State had obtained two hundred years ago. The court said the annuity roll did not provide proof of tribal membership, and ordered the case back before the county court.

However, the matter has not been pursued by the elected council.



The land is held by Richard Cook Jr., a royaner (chief) of the Mohawk Nation Longhouse, and Ateronhiatakon [Francis Boots]. Sakokwenonkwas and his family also reside othe land.

The ruling was handed down May 1.

GANIENKEH CELEBRATES ANNIVERSARY OF RETURN TO ADIRONDACKS LIFE

Mohawk Nation at Ganienkeh – On the inside of the settlement, things are just fine. Large gardens have been planted to supply winter food, and native people from many nations have come to settle in the Adirondacks as part of this community which celebrated its first anniversary on May 13.

On the outside, the tourists are getting restless.

Saying the encampment of "militant Indians is a danger to us", a group of property owners in nearby Big Moose has appealed to New York's Governor Hugh L. Carey for state action to evict the entire settlement.

Robert Wertz of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, president of the Big Moose Property Owners Association, said his group wanted to point out to the governor "the seriousness of the situation." He said the 125 families who vacation in the area felt "endangered."

Governor Carey has taken the position that the state will not use force to effect an eviction. He detailed Raymond B. Harding, a special assistant, to deal with the occupation which has established a tight perimeter around a 612-acre stand, the site of an abandoned girls camp.

A spokesman for State Environmental Conservation Commissioner Ogden Reid said the commissioner planned to visit the Indian encampment sometime in June. He likely will be conducting his meeting at the gate – no outside people, including law enforcement officers, have been allowed in the settlement since it began.

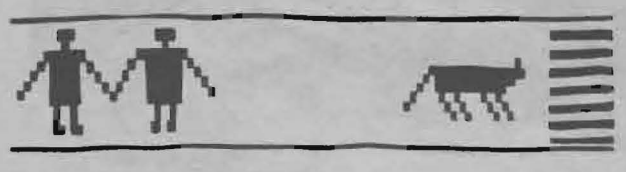
Another group, Concerned Persons of the Central Adirondacks, says its members were upset at the state's inaction. Douglas Bennett, president of the group, said the Mohawk presence threatened the summer tourism industry. Bennett is a Big Moose hotel owner. "I don't think there's any question but that these people [the Mohawks] will create another incident within the next six months."

He was referring to a situation last October in which gunfire into the camp by passing vehicles was met with a return fire, injuring two white persons.

The question of occupancy is before the courts. A federal judge ruled that he had no jurisdiction to hear the state's petition in the matter, but the state has announced it would appeal to a higher court rather than to go into the state court system.

The outside people felt troopers should have raided the encampment during the winter when, they felt, the Indian group would have been weakened by the bitter cold and heavy snows.

"They blew it – the state police should have marched right in there this winter and kicked them out," said John E. Boylan, owner of Boylan's Drug Store in nearby Old Forge and a supervisor of the town of Webb, in which the Mohawk settlement is located.



The Mohawks do not understand all the fuss. They point out they want to live peacefullly in the settlement, and if no one bothers them, they will bother no one. "We've been here a year. It has served to show Indians on the outside that we are serious and we can make it through the hardships. We've reached an important stage by showing people this is not just a protest, but it is a perpetual thing for ourselves and our children and grandchildren," said a spokesman, Kakwirakeron.

Except for personal possessions, there is no private property. Ganienkeh follows "The Great Law of Peace" established a thousand years ago as its basic law. Decisions are not made by majority rule, but by consensus.

Spokesmen are selected from time to time. Despite over four feet of snow that blankets the region during the winter months and temperatures that dip to 20 degrees below zero at night, the minimal requirements of survival have been well met. A regularized system of sanitation, health, and educational services has been organized. Meal preparation and other chores are done communally. A security force keepts watch at a gatehouse. An elaborate support and communications system with outside allies has been built up.

He said there had been considerable support and friendship from people in the area, but that some local people had organized to create the impression "everyone is against us."

This spring, a release of a controversial report commissioned by a state assemblyman, in which a daring nighttime commando-type raid on the camp was urged, has intensified emotions on both sides of the dispute.

The report was written by Michael Blair, a former weekly newspaper editor in nearby Lowville, who was paid $1500 by Assemblyman Dan Haley to investigate the settlement and make recommendations. In his report, consisting mostly of a lengthy subjective analysis of the situation, Blair warned that the Mohawks planned "to undermine the government of the United States." He advocated forceful removal, even if that meant violence.

He warned of "ominous international overtones if the Indians were allowed to remain". He drafted a Mission-Impossible-like scenario in which he envisioned an assault force first capturing the Mohawk sentry post at night during the winter, and cutting telephone lines. The assault force would then raid the encampment "aboard high-speed National Guard troop transport helicopters which could swoop into the compound, release their occupants, and catch the Indians by surprise."

Blair's report stressed the Mohawks in the encampment should not be regarded as "a bunch of dumb Indians" and stressed they have "always been a most clever militant people."

Blair said "there are extremist elements at Moss Lake and they will become – in my opinion – more extreme as time goes on." Although his report was intended to be a secret confidential document, it has been widely quoted in the press, causing some readers to laugh and others to panic.

He said it was at Ganienkeh "where the militants, the radical minority of the American Indian community in the United States, intend to make their stand. If something is not done soon, it is going to be a long, hot summer. The outlook is frightening, and the outcome is uncertain."

Kakwirakeren said Blair's proposals for an armed raid on the camp "do not take into account the human element – the lives of the men, women, children and newborn babies here," as well as policemen who would be injured in an attack. He said that "the people who are shouting the most for this type of violence and slaughter would not be personally involved – they would be sitting safely in their homes and offices."

The Blair Report calls AKWESASNE NOTES "radical" and "inflamatory." and "stirring up the activist native Americans." Blair felt, however, that NOTES was "kindergarten stuff" compared to material which has been published by occupants of Ganienkeh.

In an interview, Blair suggested there are links between the American Indian Movement and Communists, and he said he feared that eviction of the Mohawks would result in more seizures in the Adirondacks and possibly the taking of white hostages.

Kakwirakeron dismisses the Blair report as a "right-wing attack full of errors and racist attitudes". He said his people weren't seeking trouble, but that they were prepared and alert.

Although the Mohawks ridicule the report, it appears to have stirred renewed demands by the area's white residents. Barney Barnum, a state game warden and year-round caretaker of a YMCA camp at nearby Darts Lake, said that if a blockade were set up by police to seal off the Mohawks, essential supplies for local white residents could be flown in to the many small lakes by seaplane. He said he expected attendance at the camp by Young Men's Christian Association members would be "way down" this summer because of the presence nearby of the Mohawks.

"They're not our typical American Indians by any stretch of the imagination," Barnum says. "They are militants, and they've caused nothing but trouble. They're killing deer out of season, they're cutting trees down in a forest preserve and they're throwing trash everywhere." He added, "They're not woodsmen – I don't think there's any chance of them surviving."

Barnum thought residents would cut survival chances anyhow. He said they were experienced hunters and heavily armed. "They've put up with a lot, but they're starting to get tired of it. If there's another shooting, the natives [sic] will let them have it."

Ganienkeh occupants have assured the Rochester YMCA that they will not interfere with the camp's operation. About 400 boys attend the camp each summer.

The Adirondacks Park is a large wilderness area in northeastern New York State. The Mohawk position is that the state's claim to title is based on a treaty which is totally fraudulent.

"We would not seize the land that white people are already living on in the area," says Kakwirakeron. "We're talking about public land. We have no intention of taking the land people live on." As for the corporate land, the Mohawks say they would consider applications for leases of mineral or timber resources under environmentally-appropriate controls.

"What we seek to build is a self-sufficient agricultural community run by and for native people according to our own laws, customs and traditions," explains Karoniaktajeh."Only by re-establishing our own independent nation can we build such a community."

The Mohawks agreed to accept a neutral mediator provided by the National Center for Disputes Settlements of the American Arbitration Association, although the tourist groups in the area had not. Major Robert Charlan, commander of Troop D of the New York State Police, strongly endorsed this action "as an important development to avoid further friction and possibly additional violence" until the appeals court is heard.

Flint

One of the symbols of Ganienkeh is Flint, now half a year old, born at Ganienkeh. His mother is Sioux, and she said she came to Ganienkeh so her child could be born free. She wanted him to be brought up in the traditions of the Old Ways. Flint's mother had lost much of her own culture through her upbringing in a BIA boarding school, and was unable to teach her child alone. So, she says, she sought out a place where there would be people to help her.

Flint is a very important person in Ganienkeh. People say that if he is to grow up Indian, Ganienkeh must continue.

Flint is the reason for Ganienkeh. In Mohawk, Ganienkeh means "land of the flint".

[Thanks to Benjamin Bedell in the Guardian, Syracuse Peace Council's Newsletter,William Claiborne of the Washington Post, Watertown Daily Times, and the Associated Press for parts of the information used here.]

The support of all people for Ganienkeh is needed. For further information, contact:

Ganienkeh Indian Project
POBox 208
Eagle Bay, New York 13331
telephone (315) 357-6221

Kansas

POTAWATOMI & KICKAPOO PEOPLES UNITE TO REGAIN THEIR DESTINY

Horton, Kansas – Citizens of Horton are locking their doors and clearing the city streets early these days in anticipation of "another Wounded Knee" in their northeastern Kansas community. Their fears arose after a one-day takeover in early April of the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency office here by Kickapoo Nation members seeking to remedy injustices. The takeover led to the removal of BIA superintendent Jack Carson by the Anadarko Area Director, Charles James.

James said the "extremely volatile situation" led him to agree to the two demands of Kickapoo tribal chairman Amos "Mike"Goslin's occupation force of his people and Potawatomi tribal members. A three-year campaign to oust Carson was ended by his removal, and secondly, James agreed to recognize the newly-elected Kickapoo tribal council members who were installed by recall vote in late March.

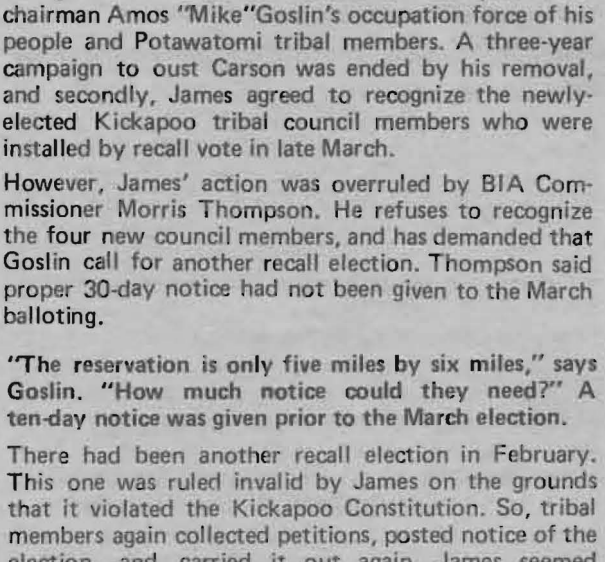
However, James' action was overruled by BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson. He refuses to recognize the four new council members, and has demanded that Goslin call for another recall election. Thompson said proper 30-day notice had not been given to the March balloting.

"The reservation is only five miles by six miles," says Goslin. "How much notice could they need?" A ten-day notice was given prior to the March election.

There had been another recall election in February. This one was ruled invalid by James on the grounds that it violated the Kickapoo Constitution. So, tribal members again collected petitions, posted notice of the election, and carried it out again. James seemed distraught at the refusal of his boss to allow the second election, saying he was worried about the "30 families who are out of jobs and the several hundred thousand dollars the Kickapoo Tribe will lose this year if we don't do something to solve this mess."

On May 16, Commissioner Thompson refused to meet with the Goslin faction, when Goslin refused to meet with Thompson when he demanded that the councillors removed in the election also be present. Goslin also wanted to meet on the reservation – Thompson demanded a "neutral site".

Thompson had been at Haskell Institute at nearby Lawrence, Kansas, to deliver a commencement address. Although he had promised earlier to meet with Goslin, he flew back to Washington without notifying him. For a time, five members of a federal fact-finding task force meeting on the reservation had been told "no one is going anywhere" until Thompson had been heard from, but after an hour, they were released.



Tribal programs are central to the controversy that began in October, 1974, within the seven-member Kickapoo Council. Goslin, vice-chairman Keith Keo, and Ralph Simon are on one side, with Hildreth Crith, Frank Wahwassuck, Jerry Cadue, and Gwen Davis were on the other. The latter four members want the United Tribes of Kansas & Southeastern Nebraska, directed by Forrest Fee, an Iowa, to control the Kickapoo federal programs. That organization already controls tribal programs for the Iowa, Sac & Fox, and Potawatomi. The Potawatomi have had their own battles with the BIA, which has refused to recognize its constitution or council for over three years now.

The Kickapoo Council had pulled out of United Tribes three years ago, saying that it was losing control over its programs. However, two of the four favoring United Tribes are employed by it. They charge the three members with "holding back progress" by continuing to insist on autonomous operation.

Superintendent Carson had backed United Tribes. Goslin charges that Carson had subverted self-determination, and had "acted illegally to get us back under the thumb of Boss Fee to break up our whole tribal government structure."

Kickapoo Tribe Executive Director Steve Cadue, who is allied with the Goslin faction, charges that "those four" met secretly last October with Carson and "passed illegal resolutions in the name of the Tribal Council."

Five members are required to constitute a quorum. "Those four put on the resolution that Amos Goslin abstained from voting," Cadue continues. "We have documentation to prove that Amos was in California on the date of that meeting. No one was there except those four and Carson."

The Goslin group then took their case to the tribal membership, pushing to have the four recalled. However, the four members began to boycott tribal meetings, and business ground to a halt in January when the council could not conduct tribal transactions without a quorum.

"They were keeping themselves in office by staying away from meetings," Cadue said. The treasurer refused to sign checks for the 30 persons on payroll, and the BIA had to offer to put them on emergency relief. An election was called by Goslin and the four members were voted out. However, James said the meeting did not follow the constitution the BIA had given the Kickapoos under the Indian Reorganization Act, and asked them to do it again. They did – in March – and that is the election which Commissioner Thompson refuses to recognize. Now James says he will "do as my boss says and see if they won't try it one more time."

James is in trouble now. UTKSN officials, like Fee, call for James to be fired and Carson reinstated. Even a Horton barber, Charles Schecher, calls for James to be removed. He says that James refused to recognize him at a tribal meeting because he wasn't an Indian. Besides, the controversy "is bad for business," Schecher says.

Horton Police Chief Richard Dreitzler also is in on the act. He has written Washington in support of Carson and demanding James' removal. "It's time that you people in Washington, D.C., get off your rears and do something for the people in this trouble area," he says. The police chief categorizes the Kickapoos neatly into two groups: "the militant and the non-militant". He warned Washington that "I'm running an investigation on this situation."

"I have a list containing 79 names in my file," Dreitzler says darkly. "These are the people who participated in the occupation of the Horton Agency on April 9, 1975. Most of them belong to the Drum Religion which is predominant on the reservation."

It is true that the tribal split runs deep. Sisters no longer speak to brothers, grandmothers have disowned grandchildren, neighbors ignore neighbors, and violence can be sensed beneath the silent surface. Each side is angry with the other. Both agree on only one thing: something has got to give. Soon.

Steve Cadue says "there are a lot of FBI, KBI [Kansas Bureau of Investigation], local law enforcement types watching us. There's enough surveillance and we have informers, like everyone else. Cadue says that for the Kickapoos, "our ways of life are at stake. The United Tribes people don't have that stake: their culture, their religions, their way of life – they've already lost it."

"They label us as militant people who can't get along in the system," Cadue says. "Hell, they're almost completely assimilated into the white system. I don't know what they represent as Indian."

Those who do not favor the Kickapoo people administering their own programs say that Goslin's group wanted to be rid of Carson because he was "not easy enough to manipulate." James named Bob Delaware, who was on temporary assignment at Horton, as acting superintendent. But citing failing health and high blood pressure, Delaware resigned ten days after he was named to the position.

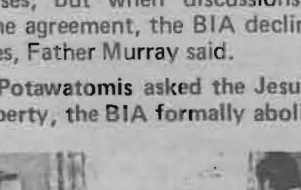
Bill Evans, editor of the Horton weekly paper, says "the town is apprehensive about what might occur if we had a Wounded Knee here. When the Indians are on an uprising, people won't even come out on the streets. We're afraid one of these days there will be a confrontation and it may end up in a murder or some similar calamity." Police Chief Dreitzler is girding up to do battle for the "Indian takeover" of the town.

The April 9 sit-in at the one-story tan flagstone BIA office building in downtown Horton was designed to end three years of efforts to remove Jack Carson. Both Kickapoo and Potawatomi peoples had charged he promoted division within their tribes, and refused to let them run their own affairs.

While the sit-in was in progress, Kansas Attorney General Curt Schneider and Kansas Bureau of Investigation Director William Albott waited outside the office with FBI agents and federal marshals. However, no attempts were made to remove the Kickapoos and Potawatomis.

Carson says he will appeal to the Civil Service if he is transferred to another post. "In my opinion, 95% of the Indian people are humiliated and embarrassed by this type of behavior," he said of the takeover.

Last summer, when a takeover was threatened of the BIA office, well over a hundred law enforcement officers entered Horton, creating high tension. During that threat, Carson termed the Kickapoo Tribal leadership "a bunch of militants."



Regardless of what happens with the Kickapoo situation, more trouble is in the wind – Pottawatomi tribal representative James O. Wahwassuck has written James that his people want to be withdrawn from UTKSN. He says money coming to the Pottawatomi are now being illegally channeled through Fee's organization. Petitions demanding an audit of Pottawatomi funds are circulating.

Recently, the BIA awarded $29,100 to the Prairie Potawatomi to "strengthen and make more effective their tribal governments." However, there is no tribal government which the BIA recognizes and it is believed the funds went to another party.

The Prairie Band of Potawatomi never accepted the Government's style of colonial rule as offered under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. They said it would make their treaties invalid. In retalliation, the BIA ruled that the Potawatomi must be subject to a total trustee relationship, i.e., "wardship".

The Potawatomi situation flared a few years ago when the Jesuits offered to give the Potawatomis St. Marys College for use as a home for older people, a day care center, job training, and other programs. But according to the Rev. Charles J. Murray, S.J., assistant to the provincial of the Jesuits, the Potawatomi did not trust the U.S. "They were afraid that the Government eventually would take the property."

So, the Potawatomi leaders insisted on a "reversionary clause" which stated that St. Mary's would revert to the Jesuits if it was not used for Indian development. But the BIA refused to accept the land in trust for the Potawatomi people on these terms. Tentative agreement was reached with the Potawatomis on the basis of oral promises, but when discussions were held to conclude the agreement, the BIA declined to stand by the promises, Father Murray said.

When the Potawatomis asked the Jesuits to keep title to the property, the BIA formally abolished the Prairie Band's constitution and took over the business affairs of the 2300 member tribe in 1972. Jack Carson says the action "was a matter of administrative convenience that benefitted the tribe."

Another objection cited by the BIA was the Potawatomi's desire to reunite their nation, the Keepers of the Fire. Tribal leaders insisted the facility to be opened to all Potawatomi people, including those who had taken refuge in Canada, and who now live in scattered settlements in Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, and other midwest areas.

– UPI photo

Jack Carson, BIA superintendent, eats lunch at his desk (background, left) while native occupation force demanding his removal plays cards on his office floor.

The mistrust of the BIA is not recent. Potawatomis charge that the BIA "served as the instrument for the theft of our land on behalf of the railroads and white farmers," says a position paper distributed by the tribal chairman in 1972.

On April 25, about 80 persons gathered at the old St. Marys College grounds to discuss concerns with the BIA and the governor of Kansas. Discussion touched on a number of issues, including a demand for a pardon for Joyce Guerrero, the only person sentenced to jail for participation in the BIA takeover in November, 1972. She is in a Kansas prison.

Also discussed was legal action by the Pottawatomi to recover land owned by non-members on the nation's 11-square-mile reservation in the Mayetta area. About two-thirds of the reservation is owned by non-members. The hope is that the U.S. and state would condemn all white-owned land within the reservation to satisfy a portion of the current tribal claims.

James Wahwassuck said action to recover the land is based on opposition to the Dawes Allocation Act of 1887, which, he points out, violates a treaty between the Prairie Band of Pottawatomi and the U.S. Government. The Dawes Act divided the land among individuals instead of having it held in common trust.

—William Kirk/Salina Journal photo
Amos "Mike" Goslin, Kickapoo Tribal Chairman

The original reservation was 30 miles square. The current one is only a seventh that size, or 11-miles square. The conference discussed legal action by the Pottawatomi to recover land owned by non-members on the reservation -- about two-thirds of it is owned by white people. The hope expressed was that the U.S. and state would condemn all white-owned land within the reservation to satisfy a portion of the current tribal claims. Awards would be made to property owners to compensate them for their loss.

However, he was told by area director James that the Potawatomi should forget about "retracting something that happened 100 years ago" and should concentrate on new projects.

[Thanks to Tom Carlin of the Topeka Daily Capital-Journal, Associated Press United Press International, Jane See White of the Kansas City Star and Suzan Shown Harjo of the American Indian Press Association News Service.]

Nebraska

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT HAS WEAK KNEES IN BACKING OMAHA NATION

Macy, Nebraska — The Omaha Tribe's possession of 3,190 acres of rich crop land, reclaimed on the afternoon of April 2 when tribal members moved houses into the area, has been challenged in Iowa State Court by non-Indians who also claim title to the land they have used for three decades.

The white people call it Blackbird Bend. The Omaha people, explains tribal council secretary Wilson Wolf, "call it Old People's Land. They know who it belongs to." The memories passed down through generations of Omaha people substantiate their claim, as does material that accompanied the maps of Lewis and Clark in which the explorers noted the bend in the Missouri River, and its original people.

The non-Indian farmers who are seeking eviction of the Omahas are not residents of the land, but derive part of their income from the annual corn and soybean yield while residing in such far-off states as Florida and Arizona. They could stand to lose $3- to $5-million if they are defeated in court.

The Interior Department has checked the claim of the Omahas, and in a 9-page memo dated February 3, 1975, says that "the title claims of the [non-Indians] can be summarized quite succinctly: they have no rights in it now." The memo suggested eviction procedures under 25 U.S.C. Sec. 180 of U.S. law and suits to recover back rentals.

The Omahas had moved onto the land twice before in recent years — but the two previous moves were not sanctioned by the tribal council. This last one was. But when they asked the BIA to back up its finding that the land belonged to the Omahas by sending in BIA polcie to protect their move, the BIA turned to jelly.

Interior Department Kent Frizzell told the Omahas not to occupy their own land. "I simply want to avoid bloodshed," he said. "I saw them carrying dead Indians out of Wounded Knee. I don't want the Secretary [of Interior] to contribute to an open confrontation."

"Well, I guess Wounded Knee haunts you at night," was the answer of Omaha tribal chairman Ed Cline. "There will be no violence on the part of the Omaha Tribe."

When Frizzell still refused to sanction the move implied by his own ruling, Cline told him: "In order to get the Bureau to do anything we have to act like crazy Indians. I was one of the tribal chairmen who always stood up for the Bureau. If you were secure in your opinion, there should be no question" about Omaha takeover of the area.

Eventually, Frizzell agreed to "study the matter". "You say you want to study it — to an Indian, this means the answer is no," Cline told him. "Indians have been screwed around for years and the Bureau let them get screwed around by white people. We wasted the tribe's money coming here — we knew what the answer was going to be. We should have been out there in Iowa digging foxholes."

[Thanks to Suzan Shown Harjo of AIPA.]

South Dakota

SOUTH DAKOTA TROOPERS INVADE INDIAN LAND TO END MEAT PLANT SIT-IN

Lakotah Nation @ Yankton — An invasion of the Yankton Reservation May 2 by hundreds of South Dakota State Troopers ended an occupation by Lakotah people of a pork processing plant owned by a non-member. It was the second occupation of the Yankton Sioux Industries Pork Plant in three months.

Tear gas was used to flush eight armed occupiers. The occupation began earlier in the day with about 15 persons. Then, the mayor of Wagner, South Dakota, declared martial law to clear the way for William Janklow, state attorney general and an avowed enemy of the American Indian Movement, to order the lawmen to lay siege.

Janklow criticized federal authorities for their handling of the situation. "It's always the state that has to do the Federal Government's work," he said. He called the federal response to the Wounded Knee occupation of 1973 "a mistake." "Frankly, that won't happen again," he warned. He claimed that it was federal indecision and inaction which was fostering a climate conducive to such "disturbances". "They've got to start taking the bull by the horns."

Mayor Raymond Duncanson ordered a curfew in Wagner, a village of 2800. He ordered schools and businesses closed, Traffic was prohibited in and out of town. Guns were removed from hardware stores. Even newsmen who showed up to cover the situation were taken to a house and told they would be arrested if they left.

The three-day takeover in March was over working conditions, pay, and contract disagreements with Melvin Rosenthal, the plant operator who has a contract with the Yankton Sioux tribal council. That occupation ended when the tribal council and Rosenthal agreed to make changes in plant opertion, and to renegotiate the partnership contract so that the tribe would have a fair deal.

The new occupation in May followed the arrest a few days earlier of Greg Zephier, who had led the first protest. U.S. Attorney William Clayton said Zephier was charged with interfering with commerce by threats or violence. The first protest group identified itself as the Eagle Warrior Society, an affiliate of the American Indian Movement.

Eight persons were arrested after the tear-gas attack. They are Dan Cournoyer, 21, of Marty, S.D.; Mark Winkler, 18; Mike Weston 18; Jesse Costello 20; Jim Weddell 19; and Goodwin Weston, 21, all of Wagner. They left the building about 15 minutes after highway patrolmen began firing tear gas canisters into the building.

The occupation began when Melvin Rosenthal appeared at the plant. He was ordered to leave. He called BIA police, who set up a roadblock. There was an exchange of gunfire with the roadblock. Governor Richard Kneip and the Yankton Sioux Tribal Council officials appealed to the U.S. for assistance, and FBI agents were dispatched to the scene. It was then that Janklow ordered his gunmen to the scene to prepare for attack.

"There are no negotiations," said Lawrence Farmer, BIA superintendent of the reservation. "There is nothing to negotiate."

The strong federal response without exploring the legitimacy of the protest has spurred American Indian Movement leaders to intensify its tourism boycott of South Dakota. "The criminal justice system in South Dakota is being used as a tool against the American Indian Movement," Vernon Bellecourt told a news conference. "We find this is our last resource to focus national and international attention on what is happening to Indian people in South Dakota."

Allegedly, such operations as the pork plant are encouraged by the U.S. to spur the flow of jobs and income to poverty-striken reservations. However, out of the 50 or so employees of the plant, only 6 are native people. Most employees are paid the minimum wage of just over $2 an hour.

The reservation is an "open" one, with some 4,600 members, two thousand of whom live within the reservation boundaries. Originally, the reservation consisted of some 400,000 acres, but now the tribe owns only about 35,000 acres. Most of the land within the reservation is owned by white farmers and ranchers, or leased to them through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Officials told newsmen they "still do not know the reason" for the second takeover.

POTTAWATOMI PEOPLE ARE VICTIMS OF A CLASSIC RIP-OFF

[Steve Cadue, Executive Director of the Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas, wrote a letter to the editor of the Kansas City Times on May 8 to give his views of the troubled situation in his nation. These are excerpts of his letter.]

. . . First and foremost, we who were described as "militants" acted because of the gross injustices created by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the United Tribes organization . . . We are trying to protect our governmental system against all trespassers. . . if we do not protect our constitutional rights of our tribal government granted to us in treaty concessions by the United States Government, then we can have only ourselves to blame. We must protect these principles, and if we must act "militantly," then we will.

. . . The United Tribes organization is made up of bureaucratic appointees so appointed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Namely, a Mr. Joe Nioce is able to represent the whole of the Pottawatomi Nation without consulting any member of the Pottawatomi Tribe. This is significant because the Pottawatomi Tribe is the largest member tribe of the United Tribes organization. Thus the Pottawatomi people are victims of a "classic rip-off."

North West

WASHINGTON CITIZENS BAD LOSERS — INDIAN FISHING RIGHTS STILL AIRED

Olympia, Washington — For the Quinault, the Lummi, the Nisqually, the Puyallup and other tribes, the ruling of U.S. District Court Judge George Boldt upholding their rights to fish under their own tribal regulations was a particularly satisfying victory.

For years now, people like Al Bridges at Frank's Landing had been going to jail — would you believe like 75 or more times? — to maintain that right. But for the commercial fisheries and the vocal sport fishermen who have worked equally as hard but under more comfortable circumstances to prevent the Indians from using their fishing rights, the decision has meant financial disaster and the swallowing of a very bitter pill.

Judge Boldt's decision is still under appeal to the 9th Circuit Court, but in the meantime, it is being implemented. Opposing parties issue their own interpretation of just what the Boldt decision means — and so far, where the matter has landed back in the courts, Judge Boldt has said the Indians' interpretation is correct. The decision is a complicated 200-page document which reigns now as the supreme fisheries law binding on native people and the state.

The right of Indian people to fish was given them by the Creator in the beginning, and that right was reaffirmed in various treaties. Courts have ruled that these treaties are to be interpreted as they would have been understood by the Indian people at the time of signing. Courts also rule that treaties are a grant of rights from the Indians to the U.S., not the other way around, with the Indians reserving certain rights for continuing use.

These rights of native people are of a different quality than the rights of non-Indians. In fishing, for instance, the right of non-Indians to fish in state waters can be withdrawn by the state as it sees fit, and the state has rights to regulate these non-Indian rights. The U.S. Constitution says that the treaties are the "supreme law of the land," meaning that they are superior to state law, and judges of every state are bound to uphold the treaties.

Thus, when the treaty says "the right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the territory," Judge Boldt ruled that it means just that. No matter how far from the reservation, no matter whether other tribes were there or not, the tribal members have the right to take fish at their usual spots. Of course, non-Indians are permitted to fish at the same spots with one crucial difference: the state can regulate their conduct, but not that of the Indians.

Furthermore, Judge Boldt ruled, when the non-Indian fishing interferes with the fishing rights of Indians, the non-Indian fishing must be curtailed or regulated by the state so as to preserve the superior Indian rights. Judge Boldt did acknowledge that the state could make some regulations as necessary for conservation, but in no way could it discriminate against Indians and it must use the least restrictive methods possible.

Judge Boldt declared the current state laws and regulations as unlawful. They did not protect the treaty rights, they reserved the entire fish harvest for a special interest group, and discriminated against Indian fisheries.

He ordered that henceforth the fish would be allocated to the Indians and to the non-Indians. Fish taken by Indians for subsistence and ceremonial use would not count in the allocation. Also, fish taken on reservations would not count in the allocation. The rest of the fish would be shared equally between Indians and non-Indians.

Another important aspect of the decision was that it was acknowledged that tribes have the right to regulate fishing of their membership, although Judge Boldt set certain standards that were necessary to retain that right. Boldt also ordered the accounting for and return of Indian fishing gear seized or damaged by the state over these past years — literally thousands of nets, boats, motors, and other equipment.

The court decision stipulates, for instance, that the tribes must have at their disposal trained and competent personnel, including fishery science experts, to see that the court's ruling is carried out, or they will lose the right of self-regulation. Since most of the tribes don't have these resources, a Treaty Rights Fishing Commission composed of 14 recognized tribes and 15 other groups has been formed to provide the necessary scientific, legal and administrative backup.

So for the first time in decades, native people are able to resume their fishing — and the white fishermen who have dominated the industry over the same period are crying that they are being put out of business. They claim that by giving 50% of the fish to the Indians, their income is being cut from $20,000 annually to $2,000.

For years, the state has mismanaged the fishing resources. There were 6,690 non-Indian commercial fishing licenses issued in 1974, compared to 350 Indian fishermen on the water, using only 49 gillnetters and three purse seiners. Yet the state blames the Indians for the decline in salmon.

The total commercial salmon catch in 1974 was 3.2-million, plus another 320,000 taken by sports fishermen. The total Indian commercial catch was 668,256, and the catch on reservations for personal use or sold at retail was not tallied. This meant that native people were able to take only about 16% of the salmon. None of these computations include off-shore catches.

Despite these statistics, some good white citizens of Washington are unhappy. Calling the provisions of the Boldt decision "potentially devastating to important natural resources," Archie Graham of the Washington State Sportsman's Council claimed that "to the sportsmen, this is a civil rights issue," meaning that whites are being discriminated against.

There is probably no more controversial ruling in the past half-century in favor of native people which compares with Judge Boldt's decision. Native people find themselves the target of a hostile state administration, and a media being led around by the nose by state press releases.

After 500 angry fishermen and their families marched on the state capitol last October, Governor Dan Evans asked U.S. President Gerald Ford to declare a "disaster area", something he had never done for native fishermen, though their lives have been a disaster for decades. The White House declined, anyhow, saying Judge Boldt's decision wasn't exactly like an earthquake or natural calamity.

As a result of the Boldt decision, this year native people took 8.5% of the salmon rather than the 50% which they might have taken. Nevertheless, despite this small take, the sportsmen and non-Indian fishermen have escalated the controversy to a violent level. In one small town on the Skagit River, Sedro Woolley, the Upper Skagit native people have lost over 50 nets to destruction or theft. Non-Indian rednecks in the bars of Sedro Woolley brag of their exploits, and one of them calls himself "a professional Indian net cutter".

Law enforcement officials are not eager to move. Last January 9, a Skagit Indian enforcement officer, Larry Williams, accompanied by a tribal councilman and his son, apprehended a young non-Indian stealing fish from an Indian net. The incident was reported to the Game Department, the Sheriff's Office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the County Prosecutor, and the U.S. Attorney, Stan Pitkin. Nothing came of it. However, Larry Williams' car got a bullet hole through the windshield, the cowling of his outboard motor was punctured by another bullet, and Skagit boats are full of bullet holes.

When the Muckleshoot fished the Duwamish River, the State Game Department, acting on a state court's defiant ruling against the Federal Court, summarily went down in broad daylight, snagged Indian nets, and pulled them out of the water with their trucks. Fifteen nets valued at $750 each were damaged and fish were confiscated. When native people got the case before Judge Boldt, he ruled against the state, ordering the Game Department to return the nets and to make restitution. Sportsmen have been indignant. "Most of 1974 was a nightmare of bitterness and confusion for sportsmen . . . for many commercial fishermen, it meant unemployment and even bankruptcy," *Sports Afield* magazine wailed.

A test of the state's power came up this January when it decided it would close off the Nisqually River as a "conservation measure," saying Indian fishermen had already caught more than their share and that all remaining chum salmon were needed for reproduction. While the state did get a temporary restraining order against Indian fishing issued by Judge Boldt, the court refused to extend the order when it expired a few days later after he heard arguments in the matter. In fact, he said the Nisqually could catch 2,000 more chum salmon and 700 more steelhead before their season ends. His earlier restraining order was hailed with banner front-page headlines in the Tacoma *News Tribune*, and the State Game Department Director Carl Crouse hailed the order as a "landmark decision".

For his decision, Judge Boldt said he relied heavily on the *Sohappy v. Smith* case rendered in 1969 after several years of struggle by the small, spunky group of off-reservation Yakimas at the Little Salmon Settlement on the Columbia River near Cooks, Washington. With that case as a backbone for Judge Boldt, a similar Sohappy decision was gained against the State of Oregon, a decision also under appeal.

Now that they have won their case, however, the Department of Interior has ordered them out of their ancient fishing village site, and they have had to file a federal suit for which financial and spiritual assistance is needed. They can be contacted by writing Wolf Charging, Treaty Indians of the Columbia, Inc., POBox 5, Cooks, Washington 98605.

SOVEREIGN COWLITZ TRIBE DISPUTES U.S. LAND CLAIMS SETTLEMENT

Tacoma, Washington — A group known as the Sovereign Cowlitz Tribe has taken strong exception with plans the United States of America has to settle for the loss of Cowlitz lands with a group known as The Cowlitz Tribe Inc.

Donald J. Cloquet, chairman of the council of chiefs of SCT, calls the other faction "a small stooge group" in a letter writen to U.S. President Gerald Ford in January. He was protesting the revision of the distribution plan for the funds awarded by the Indian Claims Commission by Interior Secretary Rogers Morton. He said that his group did not regard the payment of claims as in any way consummating a land transaction or compromising the sovereignty of the Cowlitz Nation, which has never signed a treaty with the U.S. Cloquet says the current settlement is even "more unconscionable than the original shameful acts" which the settlement proposes to compensate for with cash.

In his statement to the House of Representatives, Morton discussed the controversy between the two groups. He noted that the SCT represented primarily those persons who had no other native ties and who wished the awards restricted to persons who had never shared in any other claims. The other group includes those enrolled and intermarried with Yakimas who have shared in other claims payment.

Morton says the claims are on behalf of Cowitz descendants, and thus all should share who are 1/16 Cowlitz or over. "The vast majority of these people are three-quarters white," he says, and thus had the economic advantages of citizenship and being white in the Northwest. That, he said, offsets the advantages the others received by virtue of their Yakima heritage.

The payment is for 90 cents an acre, and totals $1,550,000, for lands in southwestern Washington. Since there was never a treaty — or even a reservation — the BIA has never filed an official tribal role, so the question of who is a Cowlitz has been left to The Cowlitz Tribe Inc. to decide. There is a dispute on that question, and Cloquet charges that in the 172-36 vote to accept the U.S. offer for payment, many non-Cowlitz people voted.

In 1973, the Sovereign Cowlitz Tribe reasserted its claim to its land by announcing that the entire Gifford Pinchot National Forest and portions of the Snoqualmie National Forest was within its domain, and that the U.S. didn't have any documents whatsoever with which it could claim ownership. Six days later, the U.S. Indian Lands Claims Commission announced the U.S. would be paying for the land at 1863 prices to firm up its title.

Great Lakes

MENOMINEE CONFLICTS CONTINUE AFTER TAKEOVER, RESTORATION

Keshena, Wisconsin – Factional and ideological differences within the Menominee Reservation here have continued to fester after the takeover of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin, in January.

Meanwhile, in a carefully-worded press statement, the U.S. Department of Interior announced "the tribal land of the Menominee Indians once again became a reservation" April 22 when Rogers C.B. Morton, Interior Secretary, formally accepted the deed conveying it to the U.S. in trust for the tribe. Morton said the restoration gives the Menominees "freedom of opportunity to pursue their culture."

In order to get lands sold during the termination era, tribal officials had to borrow $1.2-million from Midland Bank at 13% interest to buy back land sold as resort property. Payments are to be made from income of the tribally-owned sawmill.

The tribal corporation, known as Menominee Enterprises, fired two managers and demoted a third, allegedly because they had opposed Restoration Committee head Ada Deer. One of the men fired was Ted Boyd, who is chairman of the Menominee People's Committee, who spoke out in defense of the Menominee Warrior Society takeover of the monastery. A total of twenty persons, said to have opposed tribal leadership, have lost their jobs since the occupation.

– United Press International photo

Menominee tribal land is handed over to the U.S. in trust for the tribe. Watching Morton sign the deed are Ernest Neconish, 90; Ada Deer, and Jane Neconish.

The day firings were announced in March, sixty Menominee persons, mostly women, occupied offices of top administrator Sylvia Wilbur. For the rest of the week, the women led picketing of the offices and the mill.

Sawmill workers expressed sympathy, but not too openly – last year, when mill employees struck for higher wages, Wilbur told reporters, "Let them strike – they'll come crawling back to me."

The sawmill is the bread and butter both for the majority of the people on the reservation, and for the tribal administration. Two hundred persons work at the mill, and hundreds more depend on it for logging contracts and business. With the U.S. economic recession cutting deeply into the construction and furniture industry, the lumber business is in some difficulty. The workers, through the International Woodcutters Union, were finally granted pay increases which will bring them to $3.49 an hour by 1976.

Before termination in 1961, the tribe had $10-million in the U.S. Treasury, plus another $8.5-million it won in 1951 from the BIA for mismanagement of the mill. Now, however, its assets have been soaked dry, and the tribe is close to bankruptcy because of the termination and faulty trust management by U.S.-appointed trustees. Thousands of acres of land had also been sold.

Another person fired was Jim Martin, director of the Menominee Community Action Program. One week before, he had helped transport 50 elderly Menominee men and women to the now-vacated abbey for a tour and dinner. This seemingly uncontroversial outing was taken as a direct affront to Ada Deer, who has said she will have nothing to do with the abbey, even though it now belongs to the Menominee people.

The firings have further split the Menominee people, for their community already have 25% unemployment and more than a third of all families living below the poverty line.

Legal defense for the five persons still facing felony charges for their alleged part in the occupation is proceeding. Funds and legal and clerical workers are needed. Contact: Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, Box 122, Keshena, Wisconsin 54135 or phone (715) 799-3613.

MICHIGAN CONTINUES TO HARASS NATIVE FISHERMEN; COURT BATTLES GO ON

Petoskey, Michigan – Tired of years of being defendants in court cases involving their fishing rights, Michigan Anishnawbeg have taken the legal offensive against the state by filing for damages against six members of the Department of Natural Resources and three civilians, charging false arrest and false imprisonment.

As enrolled members of the Bay Mills Reservation, the nine Chippewa/Odawa people point to "the right to fish in the waters adjoining land ceded by the treaty of 1836" – which includes the waters of Little Traverse Bay on Lake Michigan where the arrests occurred after a stake-out.

The nine plaintiffs are Clifford Shaw, 38; Duane Parish, 22; Robert Bowen, 34; Donald W. Parish, 53; Andrew LeBlanc, 24; Debra LeBlanc, 19; Gordon Parish, 18; Clinton Parish, 25; and Walter LeBlanc, 33, all of Bay Mills. Some fifty other cases involving native people accused of violating state fishing laws are pending in the courts, all but two of them concerning Bay Mills people.

This Spring, state officials said they expected further confrontations. Attempts to negotiate agreements between the DNR and native groups have not been successful. A long line of court suits has usually won in native victories, but the state persists in bringing further actions. District Judge Charles Stark had already ruled that the native fishermen could not be prosecuted for fishing – the state then decided to start confiscating nets, boats, and fish under a 1929 state law giving the DNR authority to seek condemnation orders for any property "used in violation of conservation laws." However, officials said they would comply with Judge Stark's ruling "not to make arrests."

– R-F Photo

Michigan officials arresting Arthur Duhamel, right.

A U.S. Justice Department suit filed on behalf of Michigan native people against the state is pending, and the ultimate ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court may take as long as five years. State assistant attorney-general Stewart Freeman said that while the State Court of Appeals has ruled that Indians had the right to fish, he said that since the court didn't specifically rule that the Indians could use nylon nets and motorized winches, he would recommend prosecution since "somebody has to apply the language of the old treaties to today's realities."

The DNR has also contended that the right to fish was only guaranteed until it was settled by white people, or as long as the land remained U.S. property. Once the lands left the care of Washington, the treaty rights terminated, says Jay Larson, administrative assistant to the chief DNR law enforcement officer.

Sports fishermen have alleged that native people will fish out the lakes. Native spokesmen say few native people will actually exercise their right to fish, but that it is important to protect rights guaranteed in treaties to protect the treaties themselves.

To prove rights given by the Creation and acknowledged by the U.S. a century ago can be a real hassle. Arthur Duhamel was arrested three times in three days, and prior to going out again, he notified DNR officers that he would continue to fish. He always would show arresting officers a copy of the treaty, urging them to read it. Each time, his boat, motor, nets, and gear were confiscated – well over $3,000 worth of equipment.

Duhamel is by trade a journeyman pipeline welder who has worked all around the world for major oil companies. Now 51 years old, he came back to his community, Peshawbestown, because "I wanted to become involved in Indian affairs and correct injustices." He is a descendant of the people who in 1795 signed the original treaty with President George Washington of the U.S. Still further treaties were signed, the last one being March 28, 1836. It permitted northern Great Lakes native people to catch at least 125,000 pounds of fish annually, with the U.S. supplying them with 100 barrels of salt and 500 fish barrels. In return, the native people relinquished large areas of land from which they got the necessities of life.

The Michigan Supreme Court ruled in April, 1971, that the Indians had unlimited fishing rights under the 1836 treaty in certain offshore areas of Keewaunee Bay in the western upper peninsula.

In May, 1973, a dispute over the fishing rights caused 100 armed and angry Anishnawbeg to block both ends of the highway crossing the 1780-acre Bay Mills reservation. It was then that the Justice Department agreed to file the court suit now wending its way through the legal channels. Two men arrested at that time by state police were released when it was proven that they had no authority to make arrests on the reservation.

Sportswriters like Frank Mainville of the *Lansing State Journal* rile up the fishermen with dire tales of what might happen if the Indian people win their case. Schools of fish would be cleaned out, he says. "No one knows just how far the movement will go." Fishermen could find themselves buying fishing licenses from the Indians, he fears. He feels it is all a plot by the Interior Department to regain control of the Great Lakes from the states. He questioned whether Indians "should be able to take away from their white brothers rights to lands and waters which have also become part of their heritage."

But with increasing militancy by conservation officials, there could be violence. Warren Shapton, a spokesman for the DNR, said last autumn that this year might bring trouble. "Our men are standing toe-to-toe with the Indians, and there is danger of a bloody confrontation in which lives may be lost," he predicted.

Fishing rights disputes are also active in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

[Thanks to William J. Holstein of United Press International and the New York Times.]

WILD RICE REGULATION BY WISCONSIN THREATENS NATIVE RESOURCE

Madison, Wisconsin – Legislation removing native rights and restricting native freedom is usually disguised as laws "to protect the Indian."

Upper Wisconsin legislators, with the backing of the state's Department of Natural Resources have moved to "give Indians tighter controls over the harvesting of wild rice" – one of the oldest and dependable of gifts of the Creation in this area. Infringing on tribal sovereignty, the measure pretends to provide for "consultation with the respective tribal councils," but actually the state agency would make the rules governing the seasons, times, and methods of reaping the rice.

Lawmakers say that prices for the popular wild rice have shot to record heights in recent seasons, causing, they allege, "careless, wasteful, and despoiling methods of harvest. Measures to encourage and enforce the wise use and management of the wild rice beds of this state are imperative." They say the state regulation would allow the state to exercise its "moral obligation by preserving for the Wisconsin Indians their historic right to harvest the wild rice growing on Indian wild rice water."

– Milwaukee Journal/Don Hiler photo

Wild rice harvesting in Wisconsin

Across Lake Superior, Kenora-area people have contracted with General Mills Canada which markets under the name, "Quiet Water Rice." Betty Crocker pays about 65 cents a pound for the rice, and markets it in six-ounce packages for prices running to over $5 a pound. The rice is harvested by hand, usually, by knocking off the ripe grains into a canoe floating among the plants. The harvest runs to well over 300,000 pounds in Ontario alone.

[Thanks to John Wyngaard in the Christian Science Monitor.]

Oklahoma

TRADITIONAL MUSKOGEE PEOPLE SEEK RETURN TO TRIBAL TOWN SYSTEM

Henryetta, Oklahoma — Strong moves by traditional Creek people to abandon the U.S.-recognized tribal structure and return to the nation's clans and tribal-town identities have taken place recently. A one-day tribal towns meeting was held here May 17, law suits have been filed in Washington, D.C., and with new elections coming up soon, a change is blowing in the wind.

Although the Creeks were moved to Oklahoma along the Trail of Tears in the early 19th Century to land which was to be theirs forever, when Oklahoma was pushed into statehood, those pledges were ignored. Tribal government and courts were abolished in 1901, but a Repeal Act of 1906 provided that "tribal existence continues. Tribal government remains in full force until otherwise provided by law.

While the U.S. Congress has not yet passed a law abolishing that traditional Creek Government, the U.S. has appointed officials to handle Creek affairs, and also in 1970 created a procedure for election of a "principal chief" — however, the law did not give the principal chief the power or authority which still remains with the tribal council. At this time, the U.S. recognizes only the principal chief, Claude Cox, who is not accountable to the Creek people.

The Creek Nation is spread mainly over an eight-county portion of Eastern Oklahoma. A majority of the people live in the 44 towns of the nation, which, according to the Creek Constitution of 1867, are each to have representatives on the Creek National Council which is supposed to be the main governing body of the Creeks.

Philip Deere, Muscogee firekeeper

Last year, a suit was filed in the U.S. capital charging that the principal chief is handling tribal affairs illegally and contrary to the Creek Constitution of 1867. If successful, the suit would force the U.S. to recognize the tribal town organization as the governing arrangement. The "grassroots Creeks" bringing the suit are represented by Kirke Kickingbird, a Kiowa attorney then with the Institute for the Development of Indian law; Richard Young from the Native American Legal Defense and Education Fund, and by Robert Vaughn, a member of the American Bar Association.

Kickingbird says that "the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Muskogee area director can't justify by law their practices and position in the last 68 years."

Elections for the principal chief position are still planned for August 16 primaries, and a September 2 run-off.

The Henryetta meeting was called by Fullblood Creek Chairman Phillip Deere, a Muscogee Wind Clan traditional leader.

'IF YOU'RE INDIAN, YOU'RE IN' HAS DIFFERENT MEANING IN OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma — In parts of Oklahoma, more than half the arrests made by county sheriffs and police are native people, even though natives are only a small fraction of the total population. And Governor David Boren wants to know why. Nearly half of all arrests in some counties were for drunkenness, and half of those arrested were listed as "Indian".

Bill Foster, a Creek who is an aide to Boren, said, "I have complaints every day from Indians who think there is a problem with law enforcement officials [who like to arrest Indians]." Foster believes the solution is for more Indians to get active in law enforcement.

In Oklahoma City area, Indians make up 1.9% of the population, but account for 15.9% of the arrests. In Tulsa County, Indians make up 2.7% of the population, but account for 10.4% of the arrests. But that's nothing compared to Rogers Mills County, where 75% of all arrests are Indians who have only 6.6% of the population. In the village of Hammon, 157 persons were arrested in 1974 — all but seven were Indians.

Other counties studied were:

Clinton, Custer County: 3.5% Indian, 57% arrests.
Watonga, Blaine County: 6.7% Indian, 68.7% arrests.
Dewey County: 4.4% Indian, 68.7% arrests.
Kingfisher, Kingfisher Cty: 1.9% Indian, 29.9% arrests.
Anadarko, Caddo County: 14% Indian, 35.2% arrests.
Kiowa County: 3.9% Indian, 25.2% arrests.
Duncan, Stephens County: 1.3% Indian, 1.9% arrests.
Lawton, Comanche County: 3% Indian, 10.4% arrests.
Tishmingo, Johnston County: 7.8% Indian, 24.3% arrests.
Idabel/Broken Boy, McCurtin County: 8.7% and 32.5%.
Eufaula, McIntosh County: 12.5% Indian, 11.7% arrests.
Stilwell, Adair County: 27.4% Indian, 68.2% arrests.
Pryor/Salina, Mayes County: 10.7% Indian, 24.4% arrests.
Pawhuska, Osage County: 8.7% Indian, 25.6% arrests.
Wagoner, Wagoner County: 3.6% Indian, 7.9% arrests.
Pawnee, Pawnee County: 6.9% Indian, 35.9% arrests.
Ponca City, Kay County: 3.8% Indian, 51.9% arrests.
Perry, Noble County: 4.7% Indian, 24.9% arrests.
Sapulpa, Creek County: 4.2% Indian, 9% arrests.
Okfuskee County: 12% Indian, 23.7% arrests.

KIOWA HOUSING AUTHORITY INDICTED BY GRAND JURY ACTION

Anadarko, Oklahoma — Three persons associated with the Kiowa Housing Authority have been either indicted or reprimanded by a Caddo County grand jury January 18.

Accused are Vincent Bointy, commissioner of the Authority, charged with collecting consulting fees for his own personal use. Juanita Marie Jones, an employee, is accused of fraudulently cashing five checks for her own use, each ranging from $209 to $1,027. Also indicted was Laverne Sateteahtaw, who allegedly presented a claim of $1,934 to the authority for work which he did not perform at a building site.

The grand jury concluded that the Kiowa Housing Authority has not received "sufficient guidance from appropriate federal agencies." The jury heard testimony concerning mismanagement of funds, inadequate accounting procedures, and inability to produce Kiowa Housing Authority official records.

[Thanks to Tulsa Indian News, edited by June EchoHawk, at 1307 S. Main, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74119.]

CHEYENNE/ARAPAHO LOOK FOR RETURN OF FORT RENO LANDS

Concho, Oklahoma — The Cheyenne & Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma are trying to recover 6,800 acres of rich pasture lands in Canadian County which were taken from them in 1883 with the clear understanding that the lands would be returned when no longer required for military purposes.

When military activity was phased out, however, the U.S. transferred a portion of the land to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which is presently using it to raise and sell livestock on the competitive open market. An additional 3,000 acres are presently used by the U.S. Justice Department for the operation of the El Reno Reformatory.

Cheyenne-Arapaho councilman Fred Hoffman said that if the tribes recover the lands, they will be used for "cattle-raising, farming, a museum and historical site, and an arts and crafts display area. The area is rich with bluestem grass, Indian grass, and buffalo grass."

Three times since 1954, Fort Reno restoration bills have been introduced in the U.S. Congress. Once it passed both houses, but was not signed into law. A new bill is expected to be introduced this year by Rep. Glenn English. The tribes now have only 9,881 acres in trust title. Current tribal membership is nearly 10,000.

[Thanks to American Indian Press Association.]

LANCE YELLOWHAND DEFENSE FUND STILL WORKING ON APPEAL

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma — The Lance Yellowhand Legal Defense Committee is almost a year old now, still struggling to raise funds to finance an appeal of his 40-year sentence and to raise bail bond. Yellowhand has been behind bars since November, 1973. He is a Creek, active in both Alcatraz and Wounded Knee occupations.

While he was charged and convicted of armed robbery, friends firmly believe he was both arrested and convicted because of his active leadership of native people, and his participation in Wounded Knee. However, he did not become a "media figure", and his case has received little attention either from the press or from the already-overburdened Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committees.

Lance Yellowhand

From McAlester Prison, Yellowhand writes: "There are some strong hearts and smart young minds down here. It's a shame to see so many with so much time, without much hope. And there are things to be learned that can help the young men here [in prison] who are going to face the cold winters of America again without much help."

Recent pressures did manage to get a reduction in Lance's sentence down to 25 years. However, another $1,000 is needed to complete the appeal expenses, and either $50,000 refundable bail monies or $5,000 non-refundable bond is needed. Friends working on the appeal had hoped that funds put up for bail on Wounded Knee cases which have been completed could be transferred to Yellowhand's bail until his case was heard, but so far, that has not been the case.

The Lance Yellowhand Legal Defense Committee is also seeking assistance of attorneys to work on the appeal, and hope that citizens' groups in different part of the country will reproduce and distribute materials and speak on his behalf at appropriate gatherings. Contributions can be sent to Lance Yellowhand Legal Defense, Medical Center State Bank Acct. 10-4884, 1300 N. Lottie, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73111.

For further information, contact:
Millie Giago, Director
Native American Center
c/o Lance Yellowhand Legal Defense
1214 N. Hudson St.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73103
telephone (405) 232-2512

SAM DRYWATER CHALLENGES KEELER IN CHEROKEE CHAIRMAN ELECTIONS

Tahlequah, Oklahoma — Sam Drywater, Jr., a Cherokee fullblood, is making a serious challenge to become chief of the Cherokees in elections to be held August 2nd. He faces W.W. Keeler, former chairman of the Phillips Petroleum Company who was convicted of election law fraud in the 1972 campaign of Richard Nixon. Keeler was appointed as Cherokee tribal chairman by the U.S. President.

Drywater charges poor communications and government without the participation of tribal members has caused the problems the Cherokees now face.

Absentee ballots and further information can be obtained from the Cherokee Election Committee, Box 119, Tahlequah, Oklahoma 74464.

CONTACTS

[Space in this newspaper is too precious to sell, and so we don't carry paid advertisements. But we are always glad to publish information of interest to native people. Readers have asked us to insert these "contacts".

Interested in veterinary medicine as a career? Minnesota is recruiting native people in that field, and has published a "Native American Directory of Veterinary Medicine Education Programs. For information, contact: College of Veterinary Medicine, 301 Vet Science Bldg, St. Paul, Minnesota 55108.

Last issue, Sam Gray Wolf asked for Lenni Lenape to contact him, but his address has now changed. Write United Lenape Band, c/o Sam Gray Wolf, Route 3, Sandy Hook, Kentucky 41171.

Travellers in southeastern New York State along route 17 will find friendly people at the Depot Trading Post dealing in native-made crafts, and supporting the traditionalist movements. Drop in and see them, or contact: Marty Romanek, East Branch, New York.

A reverse Trail of Tears is being planned for the Spring of 1976 to show the world the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaws are not all dead. Members of these nations will walk back to the lands of their grandfathers from Oklahoma to the Great Smoky Mountains, with spiritual ceremonies at night for those who died on the trail over a century ago. Persons interested in participating, or in supporting with food, clothing and medical supplies, should contact: AIM, Route 5, Box 486, Dogwood Road, Woodlawn, Maryland, or call (301) 265-6917.

Education Manager is required to plan, develop, and administer a comprehensive adult education and vocational training program. Salary is $18,000. Contact: United Tribes Employment Training Center, 3315 South Airport Road, Bismarck, North Dakota 58501 or call (701) 255-3285.

American Indian writers are being sought to write or work as consultants for an Encyclopaedia of Indians of the Americas to be published by Scholarly Press. Sixty Indian writers are currently working on articles, but 4,000 articles will be compiled. Volume I gives a prospectus of the series and a complete chronology. Indian writers and historians interested should contact: Robert Flaherty, Managing Editor, 187 Butterfield Lane, Algonac, Michigan 48001.

A four-page brochure, "Indian and Proud" and authored by AKWESASNE NOTES people, is useful in social studies classes in junior and senior high schools, or church groups. They're $1 for 30, or $3 for 100. It is part of a series of materials available from Foundation for Change, Inc., 1841 Broadway (60 St.) †306, New York, N.Y. 10023. Get some for your kids and their friends if your schools aren't using them.

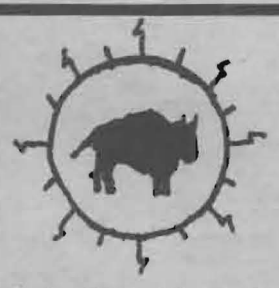
A Shoshone community-controlled school is developing curriculum and training community members in its isolated spot of Nevada. It needs a teacher and teacher/principal to man its two-room school. Contact: Robert Nelson, Duckwater, Nevada 98314 as soon as possible.

A special high-school-level Title I program for students with special academic needs as well as talent in creative arts is accepting applicants for the next school year. Native people interested should contact Gene Fulgenzi, Institute of American Indian Arts, 1300 Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

The DQU Plan allows adults to obtain credit for work done in their home community as long as the project is approved by a competent supervisor & there is a means of evaluation. The college project is intented to train native people for program leadership. (There are well over 200 students now enrolled at DQU, of whom about 75% are native people. Contact: Steve Baldy, POBox 409, Davis, California 95616.

The Department of Interior is operating its Youth Conservation Corps program for 4,500 youths who will be employed for eight weeks in 180 YCC camps in national parks, national forests, and BIA reservations. Native people and others wishing to explore this means of employment (Secretary Rogers Morton doesn't want anyone with a history of serious criminal or anti-social behavior), 15-18 years of age, may write YCC, POBox 2975, Washington, D.C. 20013 for information.

Cheyenne River Sioux tribal council is updating its tribal membership roll. Information on births, deaths, and new members should be sent to: Wayne Ducheneaux, Chairman, Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Box 100, Eagle Butte, South Dakota 57625.



Selo Black Crow has announced a Lakota Sacred Sun Dance will be held August 7-10 at his place 9 miles east of Wanblee, South Dakota. Everybody welcome: all medicine people, spiritual leaders, and traditional people. Contact: Selo Black Crow, POBox 343, Wanblee, South Dakota 57577.

Native American Studies Program at Berkeley is actively seeking applicants for next fall term. There is also an EOP (Educational Opportunity Program) offering financial aid, counseling, and tutorial services. Contact: Ethan Allen Bigpond, Native American Studies, 3415 Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720. or phone (415) 642-2093.

The Allstate Foundation has awarded a grant to the American Indian Nurses. Association to provide two-year nursing scholarships. Contact: AINA, 231 South Peters, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

Another prison matter which involves non-Indian human beings who might use the help of NOTES readers is that of the San Quentin Six, who could get the gas chamber if they are convicted. The 3½-year legal ordeal endured by these six brothers is a compelling but long narrative. NOTES supporter Irene Durham has a well-written summary of the situation and how support would be useful. Contact: Irene Durham, POBox 732, Sebastopol, California 95472 and enclose some spare change and stamps to help cover costs.

A writer working on a book on Quanah Parker wants information, as well as contact from his descendants. Contact: Conni Castleberry, 47 Clear Creek Ave. †25, Carson City, Nevada 89701.

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of Interior has announced it will accept collect telephone calls from native artists, craftsmen, performers, and organizations who want to contact the Board's professional staff in Washington for advice and assistance. Contact: (202) 343-3067.

A four-color poster and pamphlet in support of the struggle at Ganienkeh in the Adirondacks are available for $1.50 with all proceeds going to the Syracuse Ganienkeh Support Committee. Contact: Black/Red Graphics, 116 Redfield Place, Syracuse, New York 13210.

The New Schools Exchange Newsletter published a special double issue on American Indian Education. It contains a wide variety of articles, and it's only $2. Contact: NSE, Pettigrew, Arkansas 72752.

A series of summer workshops, including "Career Opportunities for Indians" June 9-13; "Contemporary Indian Environmental Problems" June 16-27; Indian Arts & Crafts July 7-11; "Traditional and Contemporary Indian Literature July 14-18; "Indian Music and Youth Chorus" July 21-25, will be sponsored for adult students. Contact: Indian Studies Program, University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Box 3536, Chickasha, Oklahoma 73018.

The Wampanoag Indian Tribal Council is opening a tribal store on Cape Cod to market local crafts. Also, there will be a powwow there on July 4-6. Contact: Wampanoag Trading Post, Mashpee Rotary Circle, Mashpee, Massachusetts 02649.

The American Indian Press Association is seeking an executive director for a $16-20,000 salary, immediately, for fund-raising, technical assistance, program development, etc. Contact: AIPA, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW †206, Washington, D.C. 20036 or phone (202) 293-9150.

Poetry by native people is needed – especially spirit of place poems. Contact: Neil Baldwin, 369 Pennsylvania St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14201.

A Metis museumobile will travel in Alberta and other provinces to display cultural heritage via artifacts, photos, literature, etc., loaned to the project. Contact: Metis Historical Society, Box 351, Calgary, Alberta T2P 2H9.

An anthology of writings entitled "Growing Up Indian" needs articles. Selections must be autobiographical, from 3 to 10 pages long. A fee will be paid. Contact: Linda Lewin, 1202 Lincoln Drive, W., Ambler, Pa. 19002.

The Southwestern American Indian Society, a non-profit consortium of individuals and institutions dedicated to the study of issues surrounding native peoples of North and Central America, is accepting membership. For further information, contact: Carolyn C. Howell, POBox 443, Hurst, Texas 76053. SAIS publishes the *American Indian Quarterly.*

The Cellar Press is publishing its first edition of Trees, a literary quarterly, on various native issues. It solicits short stories, essays, graphics, and poetry for publication. Contact: Douglass Turner, Editor, Trees, Cellar Press, 206 Clarke St., Syracuse, New York 13210.

Need help from Belgium? Contact: The Belgian Indian Workgroup, attn: Robert Pinnoo, H. casteleinstraat 34, 8510 Marke, West vlaanderen, Belgium.

Native people over 20 years of age OR with high school graduation can participate in an all-native college 110-miles northwest of Montreal. There are courses in Ceramics, Drama, and Fine Arts in addition to the usual academic subjects. Contact: Admissions, Manitou Community College, POBox 30, Ecowi, Quebec J0T 1C0 or phone (819) 275-2315.

A Title IV Administrator is required immediately by the Grand Rapids Native American Parent Committee, c/o Intertribal Council, 756 Bridge St., NW, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49504 or call 774-8331.

A resource package to aid individuals, families, churches, and other groups to find alternative ways of celebrating "Thanksgiving Day", given the cruel facts of America's treatment of native people and the world food crisis, is being assembled by the people at Alternatives. The guide will list resources, organizations, ideas. Persons who have suggestions should contact: Ken Sehested, Alternatives, 537 W. 121 St. †2, New York, N.y. 10027.

A youth and nutrition worker for the Menominee Reservation is needed by the Extension Program of U of Wisconsin. A bachelor's degree is required. Contact: Gerald M. Smith, Personnel Coordinator, Cooperative Extension Programs, 432 N. Lake St., Madison, Wisconsin, or call (608) 263-1945.

A writer putting together a collection of songs and ballads which mention Indians or Indian-related topics wishes to hear from those who have written or know of such material. Also, information on Peter LaFarge is needed. Contact: Tom Russell, 502 El Paso, Austin, Texas 78704.

"Native American humor" is the subject of an article in progress, encompassing many different areas from legends, to humor as a weapon in the struggle for survival. Anyone who can write me personal incidents, or can tell me of any books or records in which this humor is found, contact: Peter Bates, 72 Lowell St., Peabody, Massachusetts 01960.

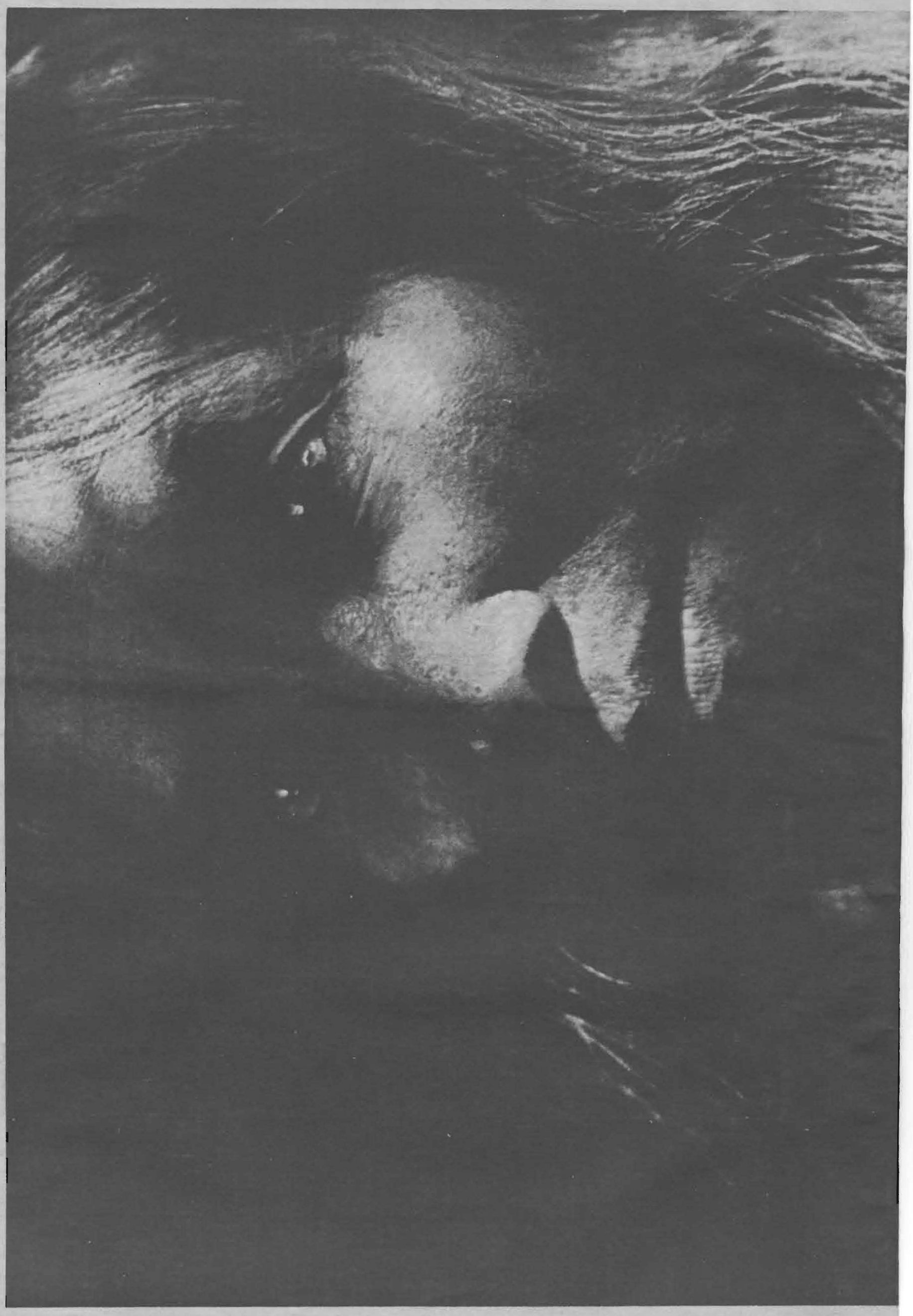
Community college instructors in business & distributive education and in science are required for reservation classes. Contact: W. Larry Belgarde, Turtle Mountain Community College, POBox 340, Belcourt, North Dakota 58316 or phone (701) 477-5691.

A staff attorney is needed to work in community development and relocation under provisions of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, and community participation, for a project which acts as a back-up center for Legal Services offices around the U.S. Contact: National Housing and Economic Development Law Project, attn: Daniel D. Pearlman, 2313 Warring Street, Berkeley, California 94704, or phone (415) 642-2826.

The second Voices Singing conference of native poets, combined with the sixth Southwest Poets Conferences will be held June 20-25, with the first two days in Albuquerque, and the last three in Tsaile, Arizona. Contact: Randall Ackley, POBox 292, Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona 86556.

AKWESASNE NOTES readers will be interested in several publications about Guatemala and Central America. One is a 264-page comprehensive analysis of Guatemalan society and politics. It is available from NACLA, Box 226, Berkeley, California 94701 for $5 plus 50 cents postage. Then, a periodical on Central America. It comes out several times a year, and is called *Guatemala and Central America Report.* It is published by American Friends of Guatemala, Box 2283, Station A, Berkeley, California 94702, at $3 for individuals and $5 for institutions. Several of the NACLA publications are available in Spanish.

A fully-indexed catalog of sources of information about environmental, social and consumer problems aimed at helping people in small towns and cities across the U.S. gain access to vital information that can help them assert control over their own lives comes out regularly. For a sample, send $1 to The Workbook, Southwest Information and Research Center, POBox 4524, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106.



"The White Man Never Cared For Land, Or Deer, Or Bear. When We Indians Kill Meat, We Eat It All Up. When We Dig Roots, We Make Little Holes. When We Built Houses, We Make Little Holes. We Shake Down Acorns And Pinenuts. We Don't Chop Down The Trees. We Only Use Dead Wood. But The White People Plow Up The Ground, Pull Down The Trees, Kill Everything. The Tree Says, "Don't. I Am Sore. Don't Hurt Me." But They Chop It Down And Cut It Up. They Blast Rocks And Scatter Them On The Ground. How Can The Spirit Of The Earth Like Them."

— A Wintu Woman

[Thanks to Terry McLuhan, editor of "Touch The Earth", for the quotation, and to Theodora Kroeber, editor of "Almost Ancestors", a Ballentyne publication, for the photograph of Kato, a Wintu woman. This poster is one of a series published by AKWESASNE NOTES, and is available at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube and handling. Orders can be for all of one kind, or a mixed set. Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

ANOTHER NATIVE PEOPLE LOSE THEIR CHILDREN

"You do understand we mean well?"

The scandal behind U.S. 'orphan airlift'

"In 1967, the first way that concern for Vietnam manifested itself in me was wanting to adopt a Vietnamese child. It was a gut-level humanitarian reaction. But I think it's important to remind people there have been other refugees and orphans in the past ten years, and it's too bad we couldn't feel as much sympathy during the B-52 bombing when hundreds of thousands of children were displaced. I don't disparage the genuine reaction of the American people to the plight of the orphans – we just have to be reminded that this issue has existed for a long time and will continue to exist as long as the U.S. maintains its present policies in Indochina."

– Jane Fonda, U.S. activist

Washington, D.C. – To Vietnam, first came the U.S. advisers, and then the helicopters, the Phoenix Program, the amphibious vehicles, the "Special Forces," defoliation, napalm, the blanket bombing of North Vietnam, the B-52s from Guam, the search and destroy missions, the burning of whole villages and their food supplies, the torture of prisoners, the forced evacuation from liberated areas, and then came the abduction of the children.

While U.S. people might have been glad to see the planeloads of children arriving here, to many native people, the scene was a familiar one, and a tragic one. Two-thirds of the "orphans" had living relatives.

Since the collapse of the Saigon army in late March and the liberation of the northern two-thirds of South Vietnam, the U.S.-backed Thieu regime has been trying to move people out of the areas now controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). The part of the operation getting the most coverage in the U.S. media was the relocation of Vietnamese children to the U.S., often on planes which had arrived in Vietnam with U.S. weapons and materials.

In Hanoi, Premier Pham Van Dong called the evacuation of South Vietnamese children "a criminal action" and an "abominable" plan having "nothing human in it." The opposition group in the Saigon government also assailed the evacuation as "an inhumane plan... for the purpose of propaganda... to request more aid."

An actress, Do Quyen, was quoted by *The Washington Post* as saying, "They are Vietnamese children. They must be brought up by us. I don't mind if there is some guilt among the American people towards us. But why don't they give us the means to bring up the children ourselves instead of taking them away?"

Charges that the forcible relocation of Vietnamese children was part of a propaganda campaign by the U.S. and Thieu to get more aid for the crumbling Saigon regime were bolstered on April 6 when opposition forces in Saigon released a copy of a government document discussing the ploy. The document, a letter from the Saigon vice premier to the premier, also exposed the role of U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin in the scheme.

"The U.S. Embassy will help us evacuate the people," the vice premier stated. "The U.S. Embassy stressed that the evacuation of orphans and thousands of others caught in the fighting will help in turning American public opinion around favorably for South Vietnam. As soon as these children have arrived in the U.S.," he continued, "newspapers, television stations, and radio stations will give it wide coverage, strongly affecting the people."

"It is an illegal act to transport these children out of the country against their will and the will of their parents," said a member of the Union of Vietnamese in the U.S. "Many parents are too poor and put their children in an orphanage and go to see them often. Now these children are being brought to the U.S. for propaganda purposes. We must condemn this act."

The Great Tragedy

At precisely 4:15 pm, Friday, April 4, 1975, Major Dennis Traynor, United States Air Force, pressed forward the throttle controls of the biggest airplane on earth. The C-5A Galaxy lunged down the runway of Saigon's Tan Son Nhut Airport with its cargo of 243 children, 46 adults, and 18 crewmen strapped inside.

A half-hour later, the plane which had come into Saigon with a load of howitzers and trucks lay broken in four pieces in a rice paddy. Half the people inside were dead. Those that hadn't been sucked out when the rear cargo doors blew out at 23,000 feet died on impact.

It was the supreme moment of the United States' last hurrah in Vietnam. And a "saddened" President Gerald Ford pledged to the world that the "mercy flights would continue, despite the tragedy" – the bloodiest in U.S. aviation history.

There were others, though, including native people who saw the scene as an instant-flashback into their own history, who saw the irony of a plane bringing in the materials of war, and carrying out its human victims. If the U.S. had not brought in the guns in the first place, no airlift would have been necessary.

Recalling that Indian children too had been "adopted out" after struggle, they saw the 178 dead children representing the final American savagery, the result of 20 years of "intervention" in Indochina – the final heaving gasp of blood of a nation so bent on "giving air", so guilty for its record of horror, that it would take even the children to atone for its sins.

Yet, under the astonishing outpour of self-congratulatory emotions, the realities of what the U.S. was doing was not so much covered up, as swallowed up in the frenzied attempt to do something good after so much bad.

Several thousand children were airlifted from South Vietnam before the fall of the puppet regime and the reuniting of the nation. Before that, Daniel Parker, Agency for International Development (AID) head, announced that plans were underway to bring another 4,000 children.

Even the adoption agencies became a part of the war, working cozily with the U.S. Government in Vietnam for years, providing assistance to children only in areas occupied by the Saigon government. Funded on a large scale by AID, their employees have lived in comfortable isolated compounds, taking full advantage of U.S. Government stores and Air America. In the first six months of 1974, the agencies had brought 793 children to the U.S. Besides their own and AID funds, the adoption agencies reportedly receive up to $2,000 per child from adopting U.S. parents.

Graham Martin, U.S. Ambassador in Saigon, felt the airlift "will create a shift in American public opinion in favor of South Vietnam." The same money for the airlifts could have aided the million children living in war-torn circumstances throughout Vietnam – but it wouldn't have had the propaganda value.

About one child in five was of mixed U.S.-Vietnamese parentage. Backers of the airlift had said that offspring of American soldiers in South Vietnam have a right to live in the U.S. But according to Tran Tuong Nu, "They should remain in Vietnam because there is more chance that they will be treated as Vietnamese in Vietnam than as Americans in the United States."

A group of professors of ethics and religion in the San Francisco area stated, "The war in Vietnam was a moral issue, and the ending of the war is a moral issue. The attitude that 'we know best how to help them' is the same attitude that sustained our immoral involvement in Vietnam for so many years. The Vietnamese children should be allowed to stay in Vietnam where they belong."

Jane Barton, a representative of the American Friends Service Committee, said, "I spent most of one night with a congressional aide talking to a planeload of 260 Vietnamese kids, and we couldn't find one orphan." The children, aged 5 to 14, had at least one living parent.

"One eight-year-old boy said he was separated from his mother in a refugee column and was sent to an orphanage temporarily, and a day later flown to the U.S. Another boy said he and his sister were separated and sent to different countries. A poor family was advised to put two children temporarily in an orphanage on the understanding they would be returned to their parents; they were on the airlift."

"That one would look nice in the den."

– Keith Bendis in Philadelphia Drummer

Muoi McConnell, a native of Danang, wife of a former GI, spent four days working at the Presidio Army base where the children were being processed. "I talked with about 70 children. All were crying most of the time, wanting to go home. Many of them had brothers and sisters somewhere at the Presidio. I tried to find the brothers and sisters. Sometimes I found them, but they were not together for long. They were taken by foster parents without any regard to family ties."

She told of one family – Tran Lisa 12, Tran Alan, 8, and Tran Angel, 5. "Their mother is in Vietnam, their father is in Australia. Their mother had asked Friends of All the Children (the organization that handled the airlift from Vietnam) to take them to Australia so their father could pick them up. Lisa told us the name and address of her mother in Saigon. But there was no way to get them to either of their parents. It was like a big machine. They were taken by three different American families."

Then there was the 4-year-old who constantly cried for her mother. According to Mrs. McConnell, "After a long time, we found her 3-year-old brother and she stopped crying. Later that day, the boy was chosen by an American couple and taken away. After that, the little girl never stopped crying."

She said all the children had tags around their necks with their names and ages. "There was a boy whose tag read Dominic Castro H. Nantes. He insisted that this was not his name. He said his parents in Vietnam had given him a letter with his correct name and saying that they wanted him back after the war. He was taken by people from Evansville, Indiana, and I don't think he will ever get back to his parents or be called by his real name. The people in charge at the Presidio just said he was too young to know his name. He said he was 6."

"If people didn't find the child they were to adopt, they just went shopping through all the rooms for another one," Mrs. McConnell related.

Muoi McConnell instituted a civil suit on behalf of the children on April 27, charging that the evacuations and adoptions are illegal. The U.S. District Court Action was filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York. Specifically, the suit is filed on behalf of the three Vietnamese children from the same family.

Muoi McConnell said the three children "were desperate and begged me to help them return to their parents. However, she says, permission to further interview the children was refused her, and information on their present whereabouts is kept secret. The lawsuit requests the disclosure of the current location of all 2000 infants and children brought over, and permission to interview the older children to determine if they wish to return to Vietnam.

The "babylift" is also in apparent violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in the Time of War. Specifically, Article 49 of the 1949 Convention "prohibits taking of protected persons to a non-neutral country regardless of motive" and requires that "persons thus evacuated (for temporary security of the population) shall be transferred back as soon as hostilities have ceased."

Article 24 of the Geneva Convention states the evacuated children will have their education "entrusted to persons of similar cultural tradition" and Article 50 requires that "all steps to facilitate the identification of children and registration of their parentage" shall be taken, and "particulars of their parents or other near-relatives shall always be recorded."

Names in the suit are Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Secretary of Justice Edward Levy, and Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, as well as officials of Operation Babylift.

On May 22, Judge Spencer Williams ruled that the U.S. must make background checks on all 2000 children brought here by "Operation Babylift". The judge agreed, after studying immigration records, that many of the children are probably not orphans, and were illegally brought to the country. He then ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service to make finger-

Vietnamese Children Burned with U.S. Napalm

prints, footprints, and photographs of all the children in preparation for notifying their parents and guardians of the children's whereabouts.

The evacuation was also sharply attacked by Huynh Lien, the head of the Mendicant Buddhist order, one of the largest and most influential of the religious groups in Vietnam. "We have lost too many people in this war already," Lien said, "so why send away our children too? It is an insult to Vietnamese women to suppose that they cannot look after their own children."

In addition, Judge Williams ordered that the records of all seven adoption agencies involved be turned over to the court, and that further adoption proceedings be halted until the future return of the children can be decided. Williams also ordered that parents of the children in Vietnam be interviewed to determine just how the children happened to come to the U.S.

It is possible that the children will be kept together in groups under the care of Vietnamese while they await their return to Vietnam.

Lien denied reports in the American press that Vietnamese children of American fathers would be subject to discrimination in Vietnam, adding that the children are likely instead to face discrimination in the U.S. "We feel a Buddhist love for all people," Lien said. "It does not matter who the father of the child is."

When U.S. President Gerald Ford arrived at Presidio to bask in the limelight of the first planeload of 315 children to land in the U.S., he had to cool his heels for an hour while doctors removed seriously ill children to a hospital with conditions ranging from pneumonia to dehydration, the latter made worse by a lack of sufficient water supply on the aircraft.

Dr. Alex Stalcup, chief pediatric resident of the University of California Medical Center in San Francisco, told reporters it was the "most incredible scene of deprivation and illness I have ever seen." A number of the children were, he said, "unquestionably near death." He said that 47 children on the first plane had to be hospitalized, and that some of the children who had been wounded in the earlier C-5A crash were put aboard the 747 and as a result had become seriously ill. He said that at least half the children should really be in a hospital, not at the Presidio Army base.

While children were being brutalized, implicit in much of the officially-inspired commentary was that they would be living a life of misery under communism. Few commentators thought of pointing out the obvious – that the miserable conditions of the children of South Vietnam were brought on by the U.S. invasion and the U.S. attempt to prolong the war through its Saigon retainers.

Some of the children had come directly from foster families, not from children's homes. An Associated Press report from Saigon poignantly related the misery of the families: "The youngsters left Saigon to the sound of wailing from children and from foster mothers. . . Whole families saw off foster brothers and sisters. One weeping mother clung to the window grill of one bus hauling children as it headed toward the airport."

The possessiveness of many adopting parents dismayed relief workers. As she was given a Vietnamese girl of about three years of age, a New York state woman said, "She's precious and she's mine." She added, "As soon as I can, I will begin teaching Robyn how to light the candles and what it is to be a Jewish mother. I think it's about time we had a girl in this family." The preference of most parents was for a female child.

The children brought to America were all given new names. Robyn's former name was My Huong, which means "beautiful fragrance."

Perhaps somewhere in Vietnam, a mother is still cring for My Huong.

The racism within the U.S. is keenly felt by many native persons – it is difficult for any non-white child to live here. Ironically, the adoptions themselves prove the racism, indicating a sentiment that the Vietnamese can't care for their own children even though they have stated strongly that they are committed to and capable of caring for them. It is principally parents with this racist belief who are charged with raising the children.

[Thanks to The Guardian, Berkeley Barb, Ann Arbor Sun, Internews, Liberation News Service, Peoples' Translation Service, American Friends Service Committee, Schofield Coryell in Paris, Lancaster Independent Press, and the Union of Vietnamese in the U.S. for much of this information.]

"IT IS NOT FOR AMERICANS TO DECIDE FOR VIETNAMESE CHILDREN WHAT SORT OF LIFE THEY SHOULD LIVE"

[Tran Tuong Nhu, a young Vietnamese woman currently living in the U.S. c/o American Friends Service Committee, 2160 Lake St., San Francisco, Calif., speaks of the harmful but well-intentioned adopting parents. Her words closely parallel those of native people who have spoken out against the adoption of their children by outside peoples.]

Americans who want to adopt a Vietnamese orphan are genuinely concerned . . . they feel that they can provide a suitable home, love and care that all little children deserve. These are fine intentions, but may result in more harm than good to the orphans themselves and Vietnamese society.

Adoption is common in Vietnam by the Vietnamese, but it is done largely outside the archaic colonial-created legal barriers to adoption that are now applied discriminatingly to foreigners. Children who lost their parents have traditionally been taken in by relatives, and if there are no nearby relatives, then the neighbors look after them. It has been a common practice for childless couples to adopt a niece or nephew. All of this has been done without resorting to going to court or establishing orphanages, which were established by the French. The war has, of course, broken down the traditional system, but Vietnamese people still help each other and should be encouraged to continue to do so.

Because of the great foreign interest in adoption, some of the less scrupulous orphanages exact payments for orphans. A baby market has already been created, and it is a lucrative business for some. It is astounding for Vietnamese to learn of the exorbitant prices that foreigners will pay for a child when they can adopt one themselves for nothing. The power of the dollar amid the poverty and insecurity of Vietnam has the same destructive effect on Vietnamese society with respect to the baby business that it has had in other areas throughout the war.

The obvious solution is to reunite the parent with the child, instead of bringing the child halfway around the world. In the Provisional Revolutionary Government areas of South Vietnam and in North Vietnam, parentless children have been totally reabsorbed into the society without any foreign adoption or placement in institutions for other than short periods of time.

The vast majority of Vietnamese orphans should, for their own sake, and for the sake of Vietnam, remain in their country. Vietnam needs its children. It is not up to the foreigners, especially Americans, to intervene at this time to deplete Vietnam of its children.

If Americans wish to help, they should consider the alternatives of supporting day care centers or foster homes so that the children need not suffer the loss of their country to gratify well-meaning people.

Last, and most importantly, it is hard to convey to Americans how deeply Vietnamese are attached to their country. Granted that little children can adapt to a new culture, but as they grow up in a foreign country, as I have, they discover an undeniable affinity for their mother land, and it is a long journey back.

The American way of life is so seductive that the poor material quality of Vietnamese life pales beside it. Yet there are so many other aspects of Vietnamese life which are so rich and meaningful that it is unfair to deprive a child of these rights. It is not for Americans to decide for Vietnamese children what sort of life they should live. If they want to help, help them find a life in their own context, in their own country, where they mean something not only to others around them, but to themselves.

It is not time to rescue the Vietnamese from other Vietnamese, but to enable them to live together in peace.

Children in a South Vietnamese orphanage

Tran Tuong Nu .... 'Many of them are simply not orphans'

The Northern Plains Are Being Carried Away And Burnt

Lame Deer, Montana – The Cheyenne Nation walked more than a thousand miles, facing blizzards, malaria, starvation, and 10,000 soldiers – just to return to the land they loved in eastern Montana 96 years ago. Today, these same people are waging an unprecedented battle against the coal companies whose contracts threaten their existence as a people.

The prospect of extensive strip mining is a threat to crop and pasture land, to their homes, to their way of life, and they are organizing to resist it. Joining them, are descendants of white frontiersmen who forced the Cheyennes off their land – only to find themselves victims of the same forces a few generations later.

There are, proportionately, not many people who live in Montana, Wyoming, and the Dakotas. However, there is much life of a non-human variety, and those humans who are there use the land as the foundation for their lives. The prospect of extensive strip mining is a threat to them, a threat to all life, and they are organizing to resist it.

The recent strip-mine legislation passed by Congress would have offered some protection to Montana lands. But that bill was vetoed by U.S. President Gerald Ford on May 19.

Spurred by demands for more and more energy from urban centers as far away as Michigan and Washington State, and by the desire to keep increasing pollution away from the cities, powerful combinations of power utilities, oil and coal companies, railroads, and financial interests are converging on the low-sulfur coal deposits and water supply of the West.

Much of the coal lies under Indian lands, particularly the Northern Cheyenne, Crow, and Fort Peck Reservations of Montana, and the Fort Berthold Reservation of North Dakota.

Coal from the area will be shipped all over. Wyoming coal (and water) will go by slurry pipeline to Arkansas. Japan was testburning coal from Montana. Even the Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA] wants strip-mined coal from the West even though it sits on top of the largest coal reserves east of the Mississippi. United Mine Workers spokesman Tom Bethell says TVA went West "to circumvent the eastern coal price structure and to avoid areas where laborers are well organized."

The Japan deal fell through when it became controversial. The coal that was shipped to them came from the Crow Reservation's Sarpy Creek Basin, bought from Westmoreland Resources. Pemberton Hutchinson, president of Westmoreland, said the Japanese were afraid any "brawling controversy" might result in legislation to limit the export of other coal reserves from Eastern states. Japan now contracts for nearly one-third of all coal exported from the U.S.

Coal has also been shipped to that heartland of production, West Virginia. By 1985, the Atomic Energy Commission says, western strip-mined coal will provide 55% of the United States' coal production. That means that not only will the environmental destruction in the west be out-of-sight-out-of-mind, but that the economy of Appalachia will collapse as mines are shut down there. And the increased costs of shipping will mean steep increases in electric bills in the East.

Utilities would rather import the coal from the west than to install clean emission stacks to meet clean-air standards. The Burlington Northern Railway is planning to build major docking facilities at St. Louis to load coal on barges at a rate of 5,500 tons an hour. By 1980, it hopes to ship 20-million tons east a year by fast-moving unit trains composed of more than 100 cars exclusively carrying coal.

The coal companies have conspired with Government in the recent "energy crisis" to hack away at the environmentalists. Assistant Interior Secretary John Kyl and representatives of Consolidation Coal told the Northwest Mining Association convention recently that environmental controls must be eased, and other government regulations modified to increase coal production. Kyl says that power production could be boosted by increased strip mining.

There is the reality that as citizens' groups in the east such as Save Our Shores (Box SOS, Durham, New Hampshire 03824) are successful in organizing to prevent petrochemical developments from moving in, Indian country becomes more vulnerable. New Hampshire is one of the U.S.'s most industrialized states, and yet is also one of the nation's most densely-forested states. It has mostly "clean industry" that does not require towering smokestacks. So as the squeeze and pressure is applied by concerned people elsewhere, the weak link – Indian tribal councils – are being wooed and courted by the oil and coal interests.

That should have a familiar ring – isn't it always the Indians who get the used clothing nobody wants any more under the guise of generous concern for native welfare?

The Vast (and Fragile) Plains

To those who live in the urban centers, the Northern Plains might not look like much of a sacrifice to meet the energy demands "of modern industrialized civilization." With low rainfall and short seasons, the land is not nearly as productive as other agricultural areas. Nor are the bluffs and sagebrush-covered flat lands as spectacular to the tourist's eye as some of the mountain meccas.

And underneath lies at least 1.5-trillion tons of coal.

Straddling the Montana-Wyoming border is the richest coal concentration in the region, between Colstrip, Montana, and Gillette, Wyoming. Near the center of it is the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. Almost half of their reservation is now covered by coal exploration permits or leases. The Cheyennes believe the impact of mining on the reservation was not even considered when the Bureau of Indian Affairs, an agency of the Department of the Interior, approved contracts with the coal companies – contracts which conflict with the Department's own regulations protecting Indian resources.

True, the land in the area is not bountiful – precipitation gives only about 14 inches of water per year, and it often takes 30 acres of grazing land for each head of cattle. Sometimes a ranch will be 25,000 acres or more in size.

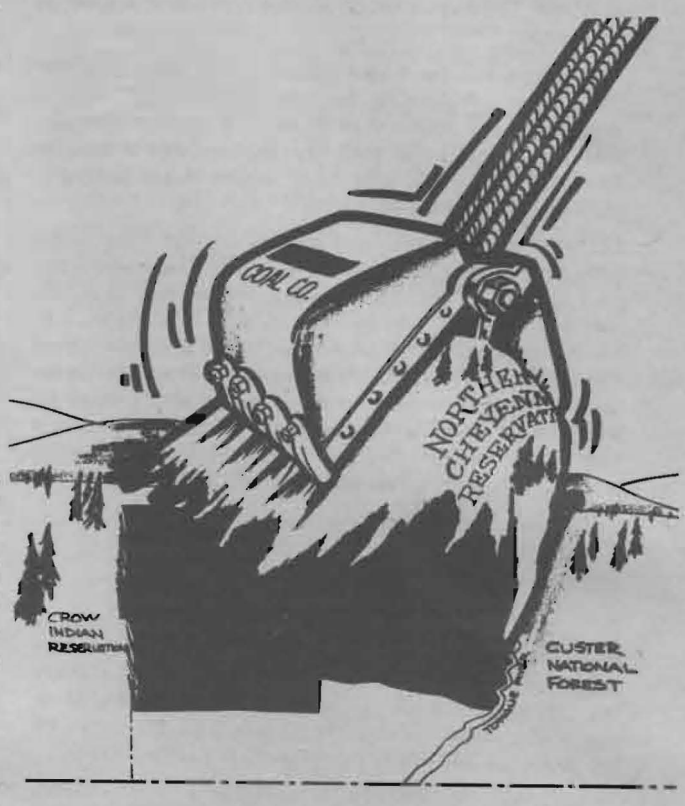
There is a beauty here – a majestic remoteness that rivals that of the sea as it stretches from horizon to horizon. The air has a fresh, clean bite to it that can hardly be imagined by most New Yorkers or Los Angelinos. The sky is usually a bright shade of blue. Tough native grasses hold the land together in the teeth of winds – topsoil is only inches thick in most places. Ponderosa pines hold the high ground, and cottonwood trees march along the creek beds. Stubborn sagebrush abounds.

"Strip-mining is like taking seven or eight stiff drinks. You are riding high as long as the coal lasts, but the hangover comes when the coal is gone and the jobs are gone and the bitter truth of the morning-after leaves a barren landscape and a mouth full of ashes."

Congressman Ken Hechler

Stripping is total assault on the land. It uproots and destroys every plant and drives out every creature. Some may return, but initially at least, none escapes. The dozer and shovel go to the bottom of the mineral vein. In Montana, the covering earth may be 25 feet thick, and the coal may extend down in a solid black ledge from eighty to one-hundred-fifty feet. Once the earth is pushed aside, the coal is exposed and loosened by explosives. When the fuel has been lifted out and hauled away, a yawning pit remains. Reclaiming this land is virtually impossible.

The scant millimeter-thick topsoil makes reclamation difficult. Some experts say that if the land is stripped, it can never be reclaimed. Dick Hodder, Montana State University researcher, says after a seven-year study,



only continuous fertilization will maintain grass and a stable surface. Otherwise the land becomes useless. And yet, the natural range is especially good: a natural mixing occurs of cool-season grasses evolved in the north, and warm-season grasses evolved in the south, providing a long period of high nutrition grazing.

Even in places like Ohio where reclamation is relatively cheap, it goes from $700 to $2500 per acre. 344,000 acres of striped land in Ohio have not yet been reclaimed. In the meantime, 200 tons of acid drainage is discharged per day into Ohio streams, while another 300 tons flows from abandoned deep mines. In the plains, it would be an alkaline seepage problem, which, with little rainfall, would be an instant disaster. Peabody Coal Company estimates it would cost $5,000 an acre to reclaim Montana lands.

The coal strippers' reputation has filtered west ahead of them, and it is not a savory one. Thousands of acres in Appalachia have been permanently disfigured by the huge scoops carrying off the surface soil, disrupting watercourses, and causing whole hillsides to crumble into the valleys.

One company, Ayrshire Coal, allayed suspicions by buying its leases through a subsidiary with the bucolic and misleading name of Meadowbrook Farms.

Liberals who point to the Environmental Protection Agency [EPA] as a safeguard should know that a string attached to the current $13.4-billion environmental protection appropriation can be used for any program "that reduces the supply or increases the cost of electricity or food to the consumer."

Actually, until the last few years, no one paid much attention to the massive lodes of strippable Western coal, which is found in seams 20 to 250 feet thick. The BTU content is lower than that of Eastern coal, and it was a long way from potential markets. But when the cities of the East and Middle West started enforcing clean-air laws, utilities found the low-sulphur Western coal could meet the new standards.

In 1970, with interest growing in the Fort Union coal fields, 35 utility companies in Middle Western and Rocky Mountain states joined with the Department of Interior to urge exploring the feasibility of developing a huge complex of mine-mouth power plants in the four-state region to export electricity over extra-high-voltage transmission lines throughout the West and Middle West.

When the North Central Power Study was issued in 1971, it projected the development of 42 such plants to burn the coal – 210-million tons annually. In addition, the study said coal gasification and liquification plants could be developed there too. This will mean a half-million people would swarm into the sparsely-populated sections of Wyoming, Montana, and North Dakota – not to mention swarming onto the Crow and Cheyenne Reservations.

Development not only means ruining the land – the life of the people usually suffers too. Information now available from such energy centers as Rock Springs and Gilletee, Wyoming, or Colstrip, Montana, are typical of burgeoning populations, unplanned and uncontrolled growth, intolerable living conditions, social instability leading to high crime rates and a cancerous growth of mental illness, not to mention a landscape which no longer holds beauty and attraction.

Trailer rentals can be $85 a week, and motel rooms are rented in eight-hour shifts. Job turnover is high, kids come and go, welfare rolls increase. Divorce rates and child abuse climb as local bars flourish. The jail becomes a haven for wives seeking protection from beatings of drunken husbands. Hunting and fishing disappear, vandalism increases. Progress has arrived.

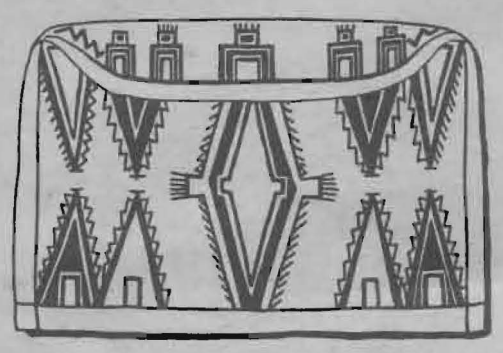
Dan Marianto, a Navajo, told a resources seminar of the National Congress of American Indians held in Billings that there were problems like these associated with tribal energy development. Along with the mines come problems with schools, health care, grazing, integration, drugs and alcoholism.

"Somebody has to look out for the people and prepare them for what will come," he said. "If people aren't prepared, they will face tragic problems. It's fine to lease coal, but you have to realize that you have people to contend with too – your own people." However, Marianto said the Navajos would continue with development – "we have to go on in order to compete."

Strip-mining the West for coal will not only create problems for the land, but problems with water as well. A recent report by the National Academy of Sciences warns that the processing of western coal will raise "staggering" water problems that have not yet been dealt with. Water supplies may be disrupted to the point where "the direct and indirect consequences may be far more important than the ability to reclaim the actual site of the mining." And, the NAS report states, "there is little evidence that adequate mechanisms for planning exist at any governmental level."

"Let the Bastards Freeze in the Dark" is the bumper sticker aimed at environmentalists which is stuck on the car of a mining executive at Colstrip. When the country runs out of energy, the story goes, where will the environmentalists be to help?

It has been said that United States citizens should be vigorous in advocating Indian rights, because what happens to the Indians will soon be happening to them. Already, Interior Secretary Morton has announced plans to let private industry in on federally-owned [citizen-owned] Rocky Mountain land for shale oil development and strip-mining. And the Department of Agriculture has announced that leases are going out on National Forests for oil wells. Energy must be supplied, the reasoning goes – who needs the countryside?



Ironically, it is the Indians who own some of the off-reservation mineral rights, now leased to coal companies. And if the deals go through, it is the miners who will move in on ranch lands.

Gargantuan draglines are running night and day already, biting millions of tons of coal out of the countryside every year – and just waiting their chance to get at the lands of the Cheyenne and Crow.

In Lame Deer, the reservation's largest town, a few people started worrying about what could happen. Dorothy Robinson became involved in the discussions at work, and returning to her home up Muddy Creek, she'd talk about it with her husband, Dave, a Northern Cheyenne. They were concerned about the social impact: there are 2,926 people on the reservation. There would be 1500 new permanent residents for every export mine with many more for each gasification plant. "My husband kept saying, 'Somebody ought to do something about it.' Finally, I told him it was just as much up to him as to anyone else, and he might as well do it," Mrs. Robinson recalls.

Since then, the Robinsons have become well-known – notorious in some circles – for their outspoken defense of reservation resources. Robinson, 56, is now chairman of the Northern Cheyenne Landowners' Association.

The NCLA has been instrumental in increasing awareness of the problems. Back in 1972, they held a feast, inviting knowledgeable speakers. Local leaders expressed their concerns to the people of the ravaged future which strip mining held out. Since then, a tribal newspaper, *A'tome*, has conscientiously sought out every aspect of the coal question to keep the Cheyennes informed.

The BIA Leases Are Illegal – But Good

Voicing the major concerns of his people in testimony before Senator Clifford Hansen and Lee Metcalf of the Senate Interior Subcommittee, Robinson cited the Code of Federal Regulations to point out how the BIA had been derelict in its trust responsibility to serve as the legal protector of Indian resources.

Robinson told the senators there were no guarantees that the areas to be stripped would ever be reclaimed. Performance bonds which are required to guarantee reclamation are so low that the cost insured by Peabody Coal for reclamation averages out to $1.88 per acre.

Robinson also testified that no technical examinations had been conducted until May, 1973, after the leases had been signed, to determine the ecological, cultural, historic and scenic factors that might be affected by mining, although the examinations are required by Federal Regulations.

The most important criticism Robinson has is that there is no provision for the Cheyennes themselves to protect their own resources – it's all in the hands of the BIA.

Instead of waiting for their destiny to overtake them, the Northern Cheyennes are fighting to keep hold of their land.

The regulations limit leases to 2,560 acres, but several are larger by ten times. One Peabody Coal lease is for 25,160 acres.

The original leases were signed when Stewart Udall was Secretary of Interior. After laborious research, the Cheyenne researchers found evidence that the coal was leased out in violation of U.S. law and as the result of a whole swathe of shady practices.

In the spring of 1974, Morton heeded the pleas from the tribe and issued an order voiding leases to the large coal companies. However, a few weeks later, the Department of Interior "reinterpreted" the order by Morton to mean that the tribe would have control over leasing, but that current leases, including the coal contracts, were still valid.

"The coal industry has always been above the law. If you don't believe it, look at what is left of the company towns they built – and then sold to us when they no longer needed them. Look at the schools in eastern Kentucky. Look at the roads all over Appalachia. Look at the men who were battered and broken in the mines and then forgotten. Look at the stipped hills and the rivers running red with acid. Look at all that, and look at the coal companies' tax returns, and then tell me that the coal industry isn't above the law."

– Arnold Miller, President
United Mine Workers of America

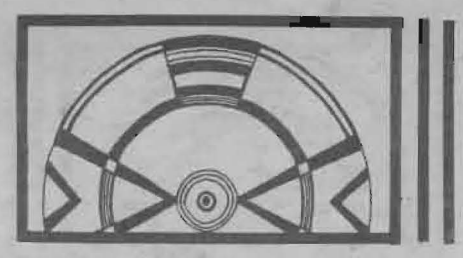
At the present rate of consumption, deep-mine coal could last the U.S. another 1600 years. But even if all the coal which can be stripped is taken out, those reserves can last only 54 years – and left behind is land which is of little use to anyone.

The coal companies are often owned by railroads or oil firms. As Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers, wrote, "Everybody knows oil. But not everybody knows that the oil industry controls the coal industry. It shares that control with other industries – copper, steel, and utilities. They have differences of opinion and maybe even competition. But not very much competition, and less of it every day." The oil industry in turn is dominated by the petrochemical industry such as du Pont, and much of that stock is owned in turn by pharmaceutical industrial interests. At the bottom of the power structure are farmers and Indians.

Unemployment is high on the reservation, ranging from 11 to 26% as opposed to a state-wide average of 5.5%. Some people, like tribal councilman Dennis Limberhand, 27, worry that the coal company propaganda about providing employment may get to those seeking work, and that they will support the mining.

Strip mines don't produce much employment. With wholly automated equipment, ten men can produce as much coal as 200 men can get out of deep mines. What the Cheyennes had asked Morton for was not his blessings to take the coal companies to court, but cancellation of the leases the Interior Department had signed. But after months of study, the Interior Department Solicitor, Kent Frizell gave an opinion that the secretary couldn't legally cancel the leases and permits.

Frizzell, whose ability to skirt issues became sharpened when he was U.S. negotiator at Wounded Knee in 1973, didn't rule whether the BIA had violated federal procedures in negotiating with the coal companies. All Frizzell did was order the BIA's Billings area office to review the case, a request which George Crossland, a lawyer for Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO)



said was like "asking Nixon to determine what evidence is relevant to his impeachment."

Interior did say it would underwrite the cost of the court suits, a move it had perhaps learned from Jean Chretien, minister of Indian Affairs in Canada, who refused to protect native rights at James Bay, forcing the Crees and Inuit into a court battle in which he paid, for a time, the legal fees. The Crees and Inuit finally had to settle out of court, perhaps a curtain-raiser for the Cheyennes.

Instead of responding openly to the Cheyenne complaints, Interior Secretary Morton took steps which could make it impossible for the native people to even get a fair hearing in U.S. courts. After he received the complaints, Morton remanded the entire matter for administrative hearings within the Department to produce the evidence to be used in court, but denied the Cheyennes the right to discovery proceedings as a part of these hearings to look into intimations of fraud, rigged bidding, and connivance between government officials and coal company operators. Without the right to subpoena company records and interrogate officials, the Cheyennes will not be able to produce the legal evidence necessary to sustain a court challenge.

In fact, when the hearings took place this winter, the Cheyennes termed them a complete "whitewash" and demanded they be halted. They pointed to one ground rule which gave tribal attorneys only 90 minutes to read, digest, and verify or refute the coal companies' case. The companies, however, had thirty days to examine the tribal brief.

Morton apparently had gone back on other agreements, including the filing of an Environmental Impact Statement on the effect of the mining on the reservation. Tribal officials said he had also failed to cover the court costs for the tribe as he had promised.

Interior always seems obligated to the corporate energy interests. For the 1975 fiscal year, Interior asked for $512.6-million for "direct energy research." Morton said then "the major thrust would be toward our most abundant energy resource, coal, for use in direct combustion or converted to liquid or gaseous products." Evidently Morton doesn't know about the wind and the sun.

There is a conflict of interest which prevents Interior from exercising its trust responsibilities for native land and rights. Interior also is charged with increasing the U.S. supply base of coal and oil and gas. Apparently, the way Interior chooses to cope with the conflict is to strip mine reservations as completely as possible – but be sure Indians get some income from it.

The tribal council considers the leases void. "It's just like when you buy a horse. If the brand or the description of the horse is wrong, you don't just amend the bill of sale. You tear it up and throw it away," Limberhand explains.

Peabody is sure to disagree. If they lose in court, they will have to start dealing with a tribal council that wants to keep control over its own land.

Tribal leaders have different views of how development might look when they have a choice. Some say to limit the mining, or build the plants elsewhere, or locate the towns for the new workers on the edge of the reservation, or guarantee Indian employment. Some say no mining at all, and others say let them mine all they want so long as they pay the top price.

In any event, Cheyenne negotiators will have to deal with sharp businessmen. As Limberhand says, "This has been quite a business experience for the tribe. We've learned not to accept anything until it's down in black and white. They're a bunch of fancy talkers and words are cheap."

That sophistication was not present in 1966. As Allen Rowland, now tribal chairman explained in the new tribal newspaper, *A'tome*, "We began asking a lot of questions but we got no answers. We thought the United States Government wouldn't rip us off, so we let it ride." The council said the Interior Secretary could sign the leases.

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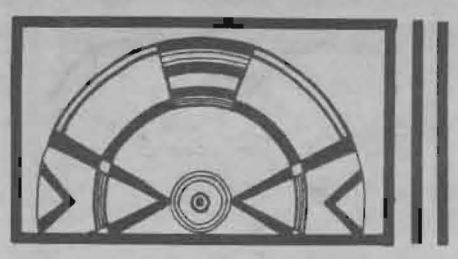


Ironically, it was an offer of money that opened the Cheyennes' eyes. Consolidation Coal (Consol) offered 25 cents a ton and $35 an acre, urging the tribal council to accept it without getting competitive bids. Also, it offered $1.5-million toward the costs of a new health center [which, it seemed, would be needed anyhow for the thousands of new workers who would be brought into the area.] Previous contracts had been for 17.5 cents per ton for the coal and $1 per acre.

The Cheyennes then knew they had been naive.

Limberhand hopes the Cheyenne problems will cause other nations to learn. "I hope our action will open the door, cause Indians to take a little harder look at the piece of paper they get in exchange for timber rights or other resource development on their reservations," he said.

The tribal council has been encouraged by Rogers Morton's statements from the Interior Department. "The Tribe and the coal companies may be assured that the terms and conditions upon which mineral development may proceed on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation will require their joint agreement and support prior to any further approval from me."

Limberhand believes Morton had no other choice. "It sure ain't sympathy," he said.

The action has turned the quiet tribal headquarters into a military command post. Maps on the wall chart in detail coal deposits, water supplies, oil and gas formations, gravel pits. Representatives back from negotiations with coal companies in Seattle report on the corporate reactions. Other members tell of political discussions in Washington. There has been talk with Arab and Latin American embassies to get information on how to counter U.S. power plays. Lawyers from big eastern law firms are summoned to little Lame Deer to receive instructions.

The tribal council president, Al Rowland, says he will ask the Shah of Iran for help if the U.S. Government and the big companies don't get off the tribe's back. Some say the tribal council has even discussed declaring war on the U.S. with the idea of invalidating the treaty governing relations with the U.S. so that it can be renegotiated.

Ironically — and not-so-coincidentally, when Cheyennes needed coal last winter, they had to order it from Acme mine 70 miles away at up to $25 a ton. Funding for an Indian Action Team project was held up in Washington, and machinery was idled.

The tribal council has also had to go against the Montana Power Company which wants to enlarge the Colstrip operation. While the land involved is off-reservation, there are dire consequences to reservation environment likely. The MPC spent an admitted $100,000 to sway public opinion, and fronted some Cheyenne employees to give testimony favorable to the expanded mining. The tribal council charges the MPC offered jobs in return for expressions of favor for the new generating units.

"Other than crassly offering the promise of jobs for favorable endorsements," says the tribal statement, "MPC flatly disowns" any obligation to the way of life, the people or the resources of the Northern Cheynne Tribe. "Colstrip units 3 and 4 portend nothing but adverse environmental, social, and cultural consequences."

The tribal position also criticizes the State Department of Conservation and Natural Resources for accepting studies that completely ignore the 2700 Cheyennes in the area. "The tribe has over the ages paid dearly in the lives of its people to be where the tribe is now. . . federal treaties purported to guarantee undisturbed enjoyment of their lands. . ." the statement read.

The tribe "presently cherishes these lands. . . the protection of which may not be abridged by the state or even the most powerful of commercial interests. Not only is the reservation the Northern Cheyenne Tribe's homeland — as a tribe, as a people, it is their only place in this world. The tribe's life as a people, as the tribe knows and desires to maintain it, is unqualifiedly dependent upon maintaining its reservation free from outside environmental insult and destructive social and cultural impact."

Outside groups are moving in to provide assistance to the Cheyennes in their last-ditch effort. The American Friends Service Commiteee [AFSC] opened an office in Billings, headed by a Cheyenne, to deal with strip-mining and power-plant development as these issues intertwine with the overriding question of self-determination.

"One of the basic things I think that will be worked out will be alternative programs of development that are sensitive to land and culture," Ed Nakawatase of AFSC says.

The Crows approved accepting the additional 40 cents by a 343 to 33 margin, with a substantial number of voters not participating ithe election.

"I don't think people realize there are little children here who awake with nothing in the house to eat but a little bacon grease gravy," says Eloise Pease, a member of the Crow Minerals Committee.

However, more than 90% of the Crow coal lies under privately-held land, and under the new strip-mining legislation, consent of the land owners might be required. Thus the Crows are cut off from access to their mineral resources.

On the Crow Reservation, there has been little expressed concern about the coal situation, although the impact there will be equally as great as with the Cheyenne. A two-inch-thick Enviornmental Statement prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs promises shortages of schools, health, law enforcement and all public services as tens of thousands of new people flood the area. Water and air quality will be degraded. The 4,000 Crows will be outnumbered by the 43,600 new people expected to move onto the reservation.

But like the proverbial horse and barn door, the massive leasing on the reservation is already a fact. Although the tribal council did request last July that the leases be cancelled, the issue was money, not environment, and when Westmoreland offered 40 cents a ton, the matter was resolved. Income to the Crow Tribe could be as much as $36-million annually.

One of the first companies to move on Indian coal was Westmoreland Resources, a firm owned by the Westmoreland Coal Company, Kewanee Oil Company, Pennsylvania-Virginia Corporation, and Morrison-Knudson Company. Westmoreland has signed leases for 30,000 acres of Crow coal, containing about one-billion tons at strippable depths, most of it in the Sarpy Creek area a few miles south of Colstrip, Montana, an area already into production.

But if poverty and BIA-education have caused some Indians to forget their environmental responsibilities, some of the ranchers in the area have decided to protect and love the land. "I think the ultimate confrontation, if there is one," says Pemberton Hutchinson, the president of Westmoreland, "will not come between the coal company and the ranchers. The Indian wants to get that coal mined and get his royalties."

The ranchers live on land under which the Crows retain mineral rights. The land was ceded back to the U.S. Government in 1904, at which time the area was opened up for non-Indian homesteading. However, mineral rights were reserved for the Crows. This is the land Westmoreland holds leases on, and it is white ranchers who will be forced to move out so the Crows can collect their royalty.

Like the Indians before them, the ranchers are beginning to know what it means to have outsiders pronounce their existence wasteful, useless, a romantic obstacle to progress.

In late January, Americans for Indian Opportunity, a Washington-based agency headed by LaDonna Harris, sponsored a session in Billings resulting in a twenty-six tribe coalition demanding extensive native consultation before any further energy development is planned. "There is something more than the dollar to live for," Harris told the participants. She said the tribes need to consider themselves as developing nations with the right to accept or reject the development of their natural resources.

Guy Erp, representative from the Overseas Development Council, mentioned that since a large part of America's natural resources now lie on reservation lands, native people should know what has been happening in other countries around the world. Charles Lipton of the International Legal center told the group their mineral leases were among the worst in the world.

Lipton said that royalty of fixed prices per ton were not in use around the world any more — "but that's what the Indians have". He said royalties were now based on a percentage of company profits, or in some cases, firms were contracted to mine minerals for the nation itself, which then retains all profits.

A year ago, the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council submitted a plan whereby it would process the $14-billion lode of coal under the reservation itself, cutting out the corporations which now hold Interior Department leases. The council has been exploring, with professional help, everything from directly selling the coal to processing it with a Cheyenne-owned petrochemical complex built on the reservation.

Backers of the plan claim that a petrochemical complex would provide the widest range of labor and management jobs for the Cheyennes, eliminating the 25% unemployment rate and enabling young Indians to stay with their people rather than work in distant cities. Opponents say that it would be generations before there were enough Cheyennes trained for the highly-technical jobs, and in the meantime, outsiders would have to be hired and would then remain in control. Also, petrochemical plants are highly automated and create few permanent positions.

Senator Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana gives the proposal high-level political backing. "I'm all for the Northern Cheyennes on this and will help them in every way I can to use the coal for their own benefit," he said. Mansfield asserted that the project would be a big Indian "self-help program of the type the federal government should encourage."

Mansfield scored double points for that backing. At the same time he was encouraging the Cheyennes to strip mine the only lands they have, the U.S. Senate voted to ban strip-mining for coal on homesteaded land in western states on which the U.S. Government owns mineral rights. The legislation was offered by Mike Mansfield — endearing him to his constituents just as his backing the right of Indians to strip their own lands gives him status as a friend of the native.

Mansfield said the legislation would protect cattle and wheat ranchers in his home state. "They don't number a great deal, but they like their land and don't want to be pushed off," he said on behalf of his white constituents. "They are going to find it difficult to stand up to the big — and I mean big — coal companies starting to move into that area."

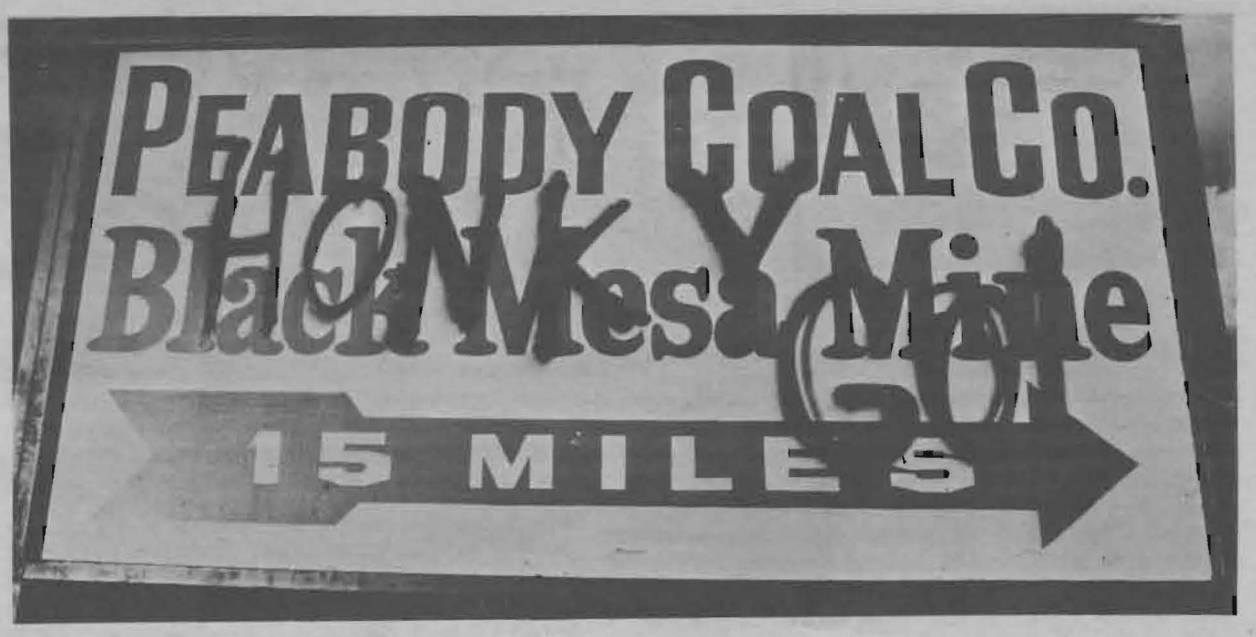
There are three schools of thought. One group, mostly off-reservation people, favor all-out development. Another wants little or no development. A third favors controlled development under Cheyenne management. The White House has already been presented with a proposal beginning with small coal development, and procedes by states as native people learn to manage the enterprises.

The capital requirements for a strip mine are well beyond the reach of tribal councils without seriously jeopardizing the tribal bankroll. The Egypt Valley Coal Mine, operated by Consolidated Coal, has a stripping shovel that is 14 stories high, moves a quarter-mile each hour scooping up 103 cubic yards of earth and rocks at a time, and has an initial cost of $7-million. It is followed by an array of smaller coal-scoop machines which dump coal into huge trucks carrying 100 tons at a time to waiting conveyer belts which in turn load the coal onto 100-car railway "unit trains". If the Cheyennes are going to get involved in strip mining from the ground floor, this is the sort of gear they would have to place on order, railroad and all.

As Dave Robinson, head of the NCLA says, "As long as the Northern Cheyenne live in poverty, there is the temptation to take the easy way out and sell the resources of the reservation. We must seek economic alternatives which will not destroy our land base and are in keeping with the Cheyenne Way."

Northern Cheyennes working on energy questions met with Navajos at Shiprock on the Navajo Reservation April 24 and 25 to discuss on-going research about energy policy for native lands.

Unless an effective policy for energy resources is developed for native lands, the Northern Cheyennes face "corporate termination," Edwin Dahle, Northern Cheyenne legal program coordinator told the seminar, sponsored by the Navajo Community College (Shiprock Branch). This new-style termination will result if tribal land is turned over to giant energy corporations without tribal control. Furthermore, there will be little economic return from exploitation of native coal resources as matters now stand.



— Terry Moore photo

Navajo sign-maker expresses opinion of strip mining of Black Mesa by Peabody

Rowland stresses that the tribal council so far has authorized him to examine the options, not to commit the tribal council to a specific course of action. They have been sensitive to the fact that other bold ventures launched by Indian tribes have failed for a variety of reasons — and they feel that outside lawyers and engineering consultants will help overcome this. However, sometimes it has been the narrow views of "the experts" that have led tribal councils into trouble with their own people as well as into economic disaster.

A research team is developing ideas for everything from development with a low impact on the environment to going into a gigantic cooperative feedlot business handling four million head of cattle.

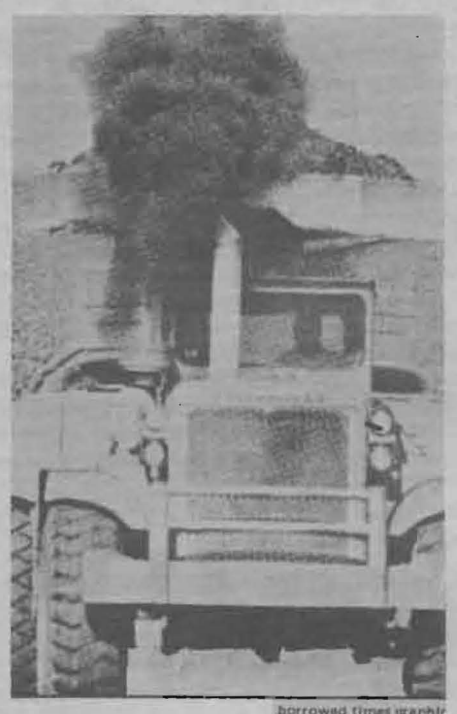
Another alternative has been proposed by the Northern Cheyenne Landowners Association, which set up a series of public workshops on the reservation to discuss economic alternatives to coal mining. The NCLA is discussing the possibility of a tribal wood products venture which would include a forestry program and a fibre-board plant on the reservation.

Because of the inevitable destruction to living things from strip-mining, the Cheyennes also set up a Life Support Research program to give the Cheyenne people the information they needed to decide where and to what extent strip-mining might benefit them and where they and their land would be endangered. Five law firms are engaged in various defensive actions.

Marie Sanchez, a Cheyenne rancher, strongly opposes any plan which would remove coal from the land. "We need the land to exist as a people — everything else has been taken away. All that holds us together is this beautiful country that our ancestors fought for. Monetary gain is momentary — what will we say to our future children?"

Marie Sanchez wants a full-scale adult education program throughout the reservation to inform people of the environmental consequences of strip mining. Although the Colstrip mining area lies only twenty miles north of the reservation, few Cheyenne people have viewed the giant gullies or the coal-consuming generators. Those who have seen the mess are the staunchest opponents of coal development.

She sits now, with a rifle in easy reach, waiting for any coal company brave enough to set foot on her land. She invited the American Indian Movement to the reservation to help her.



borrowed times graphic

"The Cheyenne religion has always been tied in closely with water," another Cheynne woman told *Borrowed Times*, a Montana alternate newspaper. "The course of a man's life can be seen in the flowing of water. The vast amounts of water necessary to the process of extracting coal will drastically dry up the water on the reservation. If the Cheyenne people forsake the old ways for the new, all will be lost, including the Cheyenne race."

Peabody Coal Busy Destroying Black Mesa

[Thanks to Rod Ottenbreit of the Billings Gazette; A'tome, the Northern Cheyenne Press published at Lame Deer, Montana; Alexander Cockburn & James Ridgeway of the Village Voice; the Standing Rock Star; Nigel Hawkes of the London, England, Sunday Observer; the Northern Plains Resource Council's Plain Truth, 421 Stapleton Building, Billings, Montana 59101, the Fifth Commission of the National Council of Churches of Christ, and especially to Marjane Ambler and High Country News, the everyone-should-read environmental bi-weekly published at Box K, Lander, Wyoming 82520, for information used in this article.]

STRIP MINING IN THE EAST — WHAT A KENTUCKY RESIDENT THINKS OF IT

"We, the mountain people, are against stripmining our mountain land, and destroying our land and timber, destroying our homes and our water and bulldozing our dead that are buried on mountain cemeteries, destroying the dead bodies of our loved ones. This is a disgrace to our county, state, and federal government to allow such destructions done to poor people. So we want this destruction completely stopped. If they can't deep mine this coal, just let it stay where the Lord put it. There is no law to justify such destruction, and we, the poor people, are going to see that it is stopped."

— Jim Hamilton, Pike County, Kentucky

SOUTH WEST

hopi and navajo to negotiate land use

Navajo Nation at Tuba City/Hopi Nation at Old Oraibi — Hundreds of Navajo and Hopi traditionalists are uniting here to take legal action to halt U.S.-mandated negotiations for a settlement of the Joint Use Area land dispute that has been waged on the range, in the courts, and in Congress for several decades. The negotiations were ordered by Public Law 93-531, known as the Owen Bill, which passed Congress on December 22, 1974.

The Owen Bill provids for a six-month negotiation, aided by William E. Simkin, 67, a former director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. If negotiators are unable to find a solution of their own during the six-month period, the U.S. District Court in Arizona will partition the land, considering social and economic impact, and access to religious areas.

In a series of meetings in Oraibi and Tuba City, speaker after speaker insisted that the land dispute should be resolved by the "grassroots people" who actually live within the land dispute area, utilizing traditional practice as the guideline. Thomas Banyacya, interpreter for the Hopi spiritual leaders, castigated the team negotiating for the Hopi Tribal Council, saying the team was composed of a white lawyer (John Kennedy, an associate of John Boyden of Salt Lake City), a "BIA-Hopi who is half Navajo, a Hopi who had never lived on the reservation, and that this team is headed by [tribal council chairman Abbott] Sekaquaptewa who has completely ignored and neglected the teachings and traditions of the Hopi People."

Larry Anderson, a Navajo representing the American Indian Movement, said that AIM "will come together if necessary to protect the traditional people and our land when and if invited." The Hopi Police Force was stationed at the entrance into the village, observing the gathering, saying they were there "for protection, ready for any emergency situation."

While some of the land remained undeniably Hopi, gradual intrusion of Navajos on the rest of the area caused a court order 12 years ago to designate the remainder as "joint use." That didn't solve the growing problem of survival.

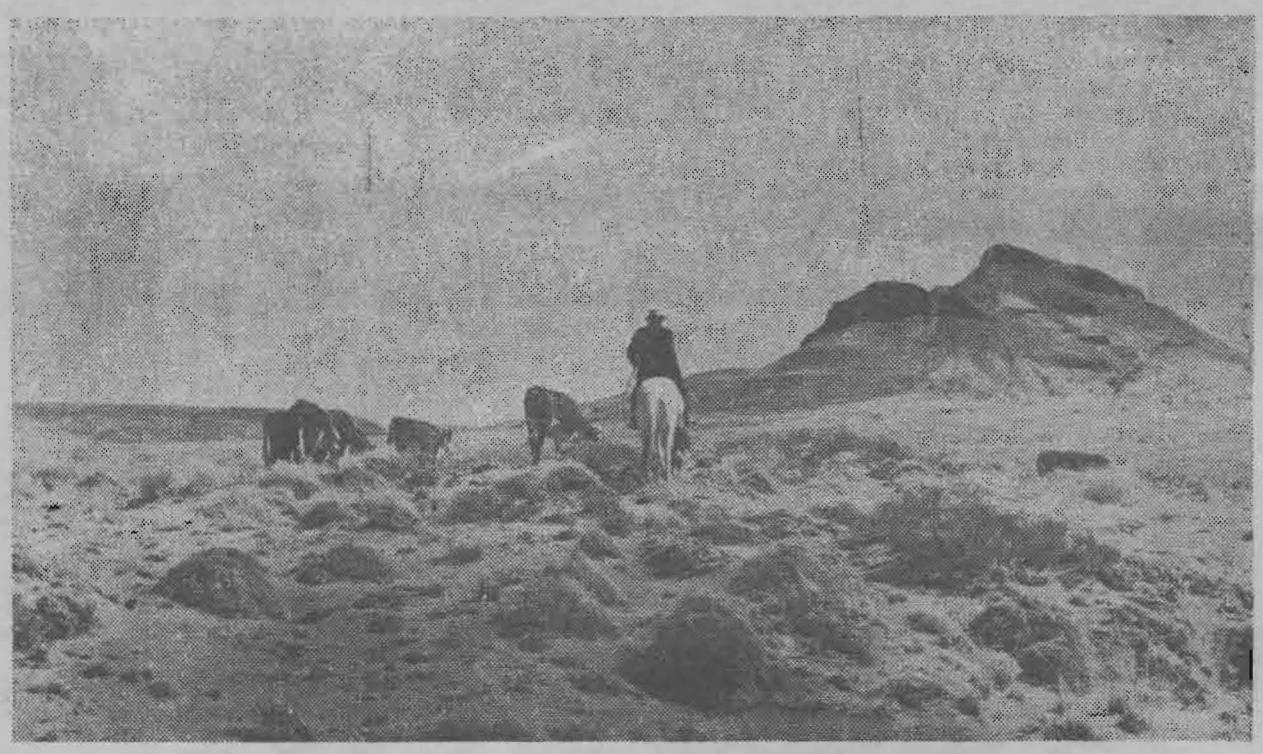
Perhaps in anticipation of the outcome of negotiations, a week after the legislation was signed into law by U.S. President Gerald Ford, the Hopi filed a suit in U.S. District Court in Phoenix asking half interest in about 90% of the six-million acre Navajo reservation. By the time all the action is over, including appeals, it could be as long as twenty years before the matter is finally decided.

Last summer, when the House of Representatives approved a bill for partitioning, MacDonald had warned that "if the Navajos move from the lands of their fathers, they will not do so willingly. They will not walk away like sheep."

With the Navajo sheep off the land, the BIA will be able to see the "progressive" Hopi establish a beef cattle industry, a BIA goal that goes back almost a hundred years.

Hopi charge that the Navajo overgraze land. Many Navajos raise sheep while Hopi tribal chairman Sekaquaptewa is among those Hopi who raise cattle.

There is some indication that would-be Hopi cattle barons may have yet to fight among themselves. The whole joint use area will only support 4,000 cattle, half of which will be Navajo cattle or equivalent sheep. Several portions of the land are of no use to the Hopi because of distances and poor vegetation. In the other areas, there are so many applications that each would have to be cut back 71% in order to break even.



— Howard L. Armstrong/Washington Post photo

A Navajo rider tends cattle on Mesa near Hopi borders

In anticipation of the result of the negotiations, BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson on June 5 appointed a three-man commission to plan and direct a relocation program for the Navajo who will be forced to move out. Appointed were Hawley Atkinson, Sun City, Arizona, economic development consultant; Robert E. Lewis, now-deposed tribal chairman at Zuni and former president of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association; and the Rev. Paul Urbano, rector of the All Saints Episcopal Church of Phoenix.

The conflict over the 1.8-million-acre tract began in 1882 when U.S. President Chester A. Arthur gave the Hopis land within the surrounding Navajo reservation, to be shared by both Hopi and Navajo Nations. However, the Hopi charge that the Navajos, who tend to live in scattered homesites as compared to the Hopi pueblos, have spread out to occupy the joint-use area almost exclusively.

The problem was that there were already Navajo co-existing peacefully with the Hopi on the land set aside by the U.S. Many of them were descendants of people who had successfully eluded Kit Carson a generation before, and the government wasn't anxious to use troops to clear them from one piece of desert to another.

The Hopi have had a good deal of success in retaining their hold on the land, characterizing themselves as "small and weak" against the "big, rich, and arrogant" Navajo. Much of the success of the Hopi tribal council can be attributed to its allies in the Mormon Church. While the locus of power in Navajo Nation seems to be Window Rock, the locus of Hopi tribal council policy-making seems to be Salt Lake City. The tribal council lawyer, John Boyden, is headquartered there, as is its public relations firm, Evans and Associates.

The dispute over land ownership simmered along until the mid 1950s. Then attorney Boyden was able to lobby a bill through Congress which authorized the federal court to hear a suit by the Hopi against the Navajo. In 1962, a special three-judge federal court ruled that the Hopi were entitled to an undivided half interest in the 1882 reservation outside of a 650,000-acre area reserved for their exclusive use.

Since that time, the federal courts have ordered the Navajo to reduce their livestock to half the carrying capacity of the disputed range. Although the court sees this as a way to give the Hopi their legal due, to the Navajo it is another chapter in an oppressive history.

They recall that Kit Carson slew their sheep. Then during the Roosevelt administration in the 1930s, following their refusal to establish a tribal council under the Indian Reorganization Act, Navajo sheep were once again rounded up and slaughtered.

While the federal courts upheld the Hopis' legal right to use the land, they also decided that they lacked jurisdiction to enforce their decision by partitioning the land. Since then, Boyden has campaigned for a partition bill like the one which passed the House May 29, 290-38.

Since the 1890s, the Mormons have been closely associated with the "progressive" Hopi faction represented in the tribal council. The Mormon religion is the predominant Christian religion on the reservation, and many Mormon Hopis have served on the tribal council. Through Mormon friendships, the tribal council has developed allies in industry and government.

In theory, only the grazing rights are at stake. But portions of the disputed land overlay at least 2.5-billion tons — possibly 25 billion tons — of easily accessible coal. At today's prices of $4 a ton, that coal could be worth between $10-billion and $100-billion. In addition, there are geologic signs of oil, gas, and uranium in the area. Until the Hopi have exclusive rights in the area, however, it cannot recommend leases and exploration rights.

In the 1971-72 period, when the Four Corners power plants were a major national environmental issue, there was a split among native groups about the question of fighting the strip-mining of Black Mesa in the joint-use area, the most sacred mesa to Hopi traditionalists, and the sacred female mountain of the Navajos. The main Indian spokesman for the strip mines and power plants was then-chairman Clarence Hamilton of the Hopi Tribal Council.

During that same period, the Hopi Tribal Council's PR men, Evans and Associates, were also representing WEST Associates, a trade association of 23 utility companies engaged in building the power plants and strip-mines in the Four Corner areas. No, there was no conflict of interest, Evans said: "the Indians have resources to sell, and our other clients have money to buy those resources."

However, the arrangement was convenient. Hamilton speeches written by Evans were distributed through the public relations machinery of 23 major Western utilities, who used the speeches to reassure their customers that the Hopis were "good Indians" who wanted to cooperate with them to provide juice for their air conditioners. The Navajos, on the other hand, were saying threatening things about closing down polluting power plants and requiring expensive reclamation of strip-mined land. Because of these public relations efforts, the Hopi tribal council took on the aura of the underdog who just wanted to help his white brother.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs wasn't adverse to such an arrangement. It's boss, the Department of Interior, is one of the buyers of the Black Mesa coal. Through the Bureau of Reclamation, Interior owns 25% of the largest Four Corners plant. So when U.S. citizens wrote to their government to complain about Black Mesa, they were sent brochures prepared and published by Peabody Coal Company, which was supplying that power plant by stripping Black Mesa under a contract approved by Interior. And Kennecott Copper, which owns Peabody, is tied into the extensive industrial holdings of the Mormon Church.

True, the Navajos had signed the lease along with the Hopi — but in another Navajo political era. Now, Navajos have not been adverse to resource development, but they are being careful to make the deal profitable to native interests. So if new leases are to be signed in the joint use area which are profitable to the corporations, it will be necessary for the Hopi to be the only party required to sign the contracts.

Some say that Evans and Associates, the public relations director for strip mines, power plants, and Hopi, have virtually stage-managed the "range war", calculated, ultimately, to end the land's joint-use status. Thus for some time now, many papers in the Southwest and across the U.S. have carried Sunday features about the "range war" about to break out "between two hostile tribes." Photos of burned-out corrals and shot-up stock tanks and wells were printed, although such incidents were not widespread.

In 1972, U.S. District Court Judge James A. Walsh issued an order limiting Navajo grazing in the joint-use land. The BIA has frozen construction, including well-drilling, in order to force the Navajo sheep owners to comply with the order, which has caused them to simply drive their stock to water inside the Hopi exclusive-use area.

The Hopis had hired a ranger, a white former rodeo cowboy named Elmer Randolph, to patrol their fence-

Some Navajos did threaten Randolph, and some shots were fired as the pressures mounted on the Navajos. On one hand, the flocks were dying for lack of water and grass, and on the other, the flocks were impounded if they were driven where the water and grass were.

A BIA lands officer in Keams Canyon, Sam Miller, claims credit for devising the round-up technique used to pressure the Navajos even more. By calling Evans and Associates, a TV crew could arrange for Randolph to round-up trespassing Navajo stock, or Evans would call newsmen when a round-up was in progress. Interviews with Hamilton, the Hopi tribal council chairman of the day, could be arranged by calling Evans – but they were granted only when BIA officials could be present to answer most of the questions.

So the threat of range war was well-publicized throughout the Southwest and beyond until it was made perfectly clear that these "feuding traditional enemies could not settle their ancient dispute" without help from the U.S. of A.

Thus the stage was set for Congressional intervention – for the eventual division of the joint-use area – so that corporations wanting to mine coal and exploit minerals will have just the one Hopi cooperative tribal council to deal with.

The greatest obstacle, however, to this simple partition is the fact that the area is inhabited by just two Hopi families (of a Hopi population of about 6,000) and 776 Navajo families (of a Navajo population of 135,000.) Obviously, thousands of Navajos will have to be driven out if the partition is successful.

Peter MacDonald ... buy out the Hopi interest?

MacDonald feels the just solution would be for the government to buy out the surface rights of the Hopi and give them to the Navajo, and the two tribes would continue to share the mineral rights.

A number of bills had been introduced in the House of Representatives. A bill favoring Hopi interests was introduced by Rep. Sam Steiger in 1972, but was killed in the Senate. Rep. Manuel Lujan of New Mexico submitted a proposal to buy out the Hopi interests by having the land appraised and paying the Hopi up to $16-million for their interests, the same amount Steiger estimated it would cost to relocate the Navajos. His proposal never made it out of the House Indian Affairs Subcommittee. Four other proposals would have established a presidential commission to work with negotiating teams and to make a determination based on the last best offer of either team. Another would have authorized the Secretary of Interior to divide up the land. Rep. Joseph Montoya came up with a proposal to set up a development commission to boost the economies of both Hopi and Navajo, and would permit lending the Navajo $18-million to pay the Hopi for portions of the land now used by Navajo people.

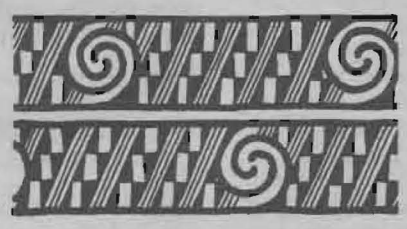
But there is a large discrepancy between $18-million in rent and $10-billion in coal. Abbott Sekaquaptewa, who succeeded Clarence Hamilton as Hopi tribal council chairman, was infuriated at Montoya's proposal – "it was like appropriating $18-million to take your Bible away. This land is not for sale," perhaps overlooking the fact that under partition, the Hopi will be giving up half of their "bible."

In January, 1974, the House finally reported out of committee a bill by Wayne Owens, a Utah Democrat, that would divide the joint-use area in half.

The Navajos reacted with fury. "The National Guard or federal marshals are going to have to bulldoze [the Navajos] or chain them together and drag them from the land," declared Peter MacDonald. He evoked memories of the Long Walk to Fort Sumner in 1864, a 300-mile journey from Fort Defiance, where 9,000 Navajos and 1,000 Apaches were kept in a concentration camp for four years and returned to find crops burned, homeland destroyed, fruit trees killed.

According to MacDonald, the land dispute is not a clash, but a continuation of government infringement on tribal rights, and has said that the Navajo and Hopi people have been in peaceful coexistence since 1800.

Representative Lujan circulated a letter to his fellow members of Congress saying that "the enactment of this [Owens] bill could result in a blood bath in northern Arizona that would make My Lai look like a Sunday School picnic." The strongly-worded letter said that even if troops moved in with clubs and bayonets, the Navajos "will not move, even if it costs them their lives."



The Owens Bill had been favored both by U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morris Thompson and the Hopi tribal council. Originally, the BIA had felt that no legislation at all was necessary, but as the dispute dragged on, Thompson said, the BIA considered that hope "no longer realistic." The dispute has gotten bitter over the last three years as the Hopi council charged the Navajos with harassing Hopi stockmen in the area, and the Navajo council charged the reverse.

Thompson says that two years after the court decides on how the land is to be partitioned, the BIA will submit a plan for the relocation of the thousands of Navajo people involved. Sixty days after submission of the plan to Congress, if it is unaltered, the plan will go into effect.

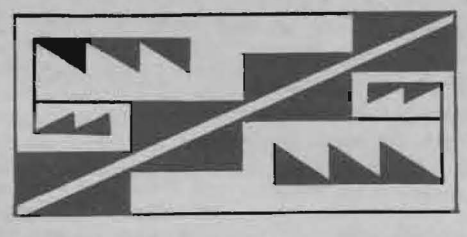
The BIA has indicated it will go for a "cash incentive program to encourage voluntary and early relocation". These payments would be $5,000 to those who choose to move in the first year, $4,000 to those in the second, and so on, until no payments would be made to those who chose to hold out until the last.

Religious leader Mina Lansa of Oraibi said that no partition should be made so "all living things can continue in a natural way." When Senator Abourezk asked her what percentage of the Hopi people she represented, she replied in her own language, "I represent all living things. You should not divide men, because all living beings go together."

Nonetheless, the Owens bill passed the House in May, and went to the Senate where six months later, it too was passed. Mina Lansa still believes the two groups can settle their own dispute, although it may take longer than six months, and that the traditional people, not the progressives, will have to use ancient wisdom and common sense to make it work. "It is not true that the traditional people of our two tribes are unable to agree on this matter," she said. She says she still hopes "we can solve this problem without outside interference. We can stay together in friendship with the Navajos."

Prior to going to Washington, Mina Lansa had sent a letter to Senators Fannin and Goldwater, saying that the traditional kikmongwis and Hopi religious societies "have never recognized nor empowered the so-called Hopi tribal council [instituted under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.] The traditional form of self-government and religious principles were established long before any white man or Navajo came on our sacred homeland. The area now included in the so-called disputed land is considered a sacred spiritual center for all mankind, and must not be desecrated or disturbed for material or commercial purposes. It is involved with the spiritual as well as natural laws, which if interfered with by anyone who has no knowledge of these laws could cause intensive damage to all living things, including man."

Lansa said that the Hopi chairman and Hopi council do not respect nor understand these spiritual messages of the Hopi religious structure and "they continue to use false statements, stories and lies and by completely ignoring our traditional kikmongwis and traditional people, they have pulled the wool over the eyes of such men as members of the House of Representatives who blindly supported the so-called Hopi Tribal Council in passing the [Owens] bill."



Even with the present negotiations underway under the watchful eye of William Simkin, it is the official tribal council people who are negotiating, however, not the traditionals. The Hopis have nothing whatsoever to gain by negotiating, and thus have only to sit it out and wait for the court to make the partition.

Many natural peoples, including traditional Hopis, have a strong aversion to the whole concept of "voting", a sacred cow of U.S.-style democracy. Voting creates winners and losers, majorities and minorities, while

people like the Hopi believe in remaining of one mind and one heart, counselling until a decision can be reached. As a result, when voting along the lines of Roberts Rules of Order-styled tribal councils was introduced to the Hopi in 1935, only 755 Hopi out of about 4500 cast ballots. The majority of villages refused to involve themselves in what they considered to be white man's politics.

Later, Mina Lansa, her husband John, Mike Gashwazra, Julius Calnimptewa, Melvin Tewa, Louise Smith, and Fermina Banyacya went to speak with a group of 600 Navajo in Tuba City. "I want us to work with each other in truth and not with lies," they told the Navajos.

"I am over 50 years old and I have never known, up until now, of any wars between the Navajo and Hopi people. The Navajo people around my place, they bring me wool, they bring me mutton, and in return, I trade them corn and other things. We all need each other. Maybe a long time ago our ancestors fought, but as far as I know, there has never been a war between the Navajo and Hopi. It is this white man who wants to get hold of our land. They are the ones causing this conflict that is being fought like they say we shouldn't do. There is no reason whatsoever why we have to divide this land again because there are so many intermarriages, and I cannot see why we have to draw a line."

Mike Gashwazra, a Badger Clan Hopi from Old Oraibi, said that the Navajo people in the joint-use area "are my people, and when I think of them having to leave their homeland, to be driven away, that's not very good."

Commenting on Lansa's remarks, Abbott Sekaquaptewa says, "It is unfortunate that in her lust for power, which she can never rightfully possess under Hopi traditional law, Mrs. Lansa is allowing herself to be used by the Navajos against her own people."

Abbott Sekaquaptewa ... we only want what is ours

Mina Lansa says she is not siding with the Navajos – she is just siding with the land and natural law, her instructions to be humble and peaceful and cooperative.

A Hopi newspaper which supports the tribal council, *Qua'Toqti*, charges that the Hopi/Navajo alliance is "one formed out of desperation and impending doom." It says that for the "so-called traditional faction of the Hopi tribe, it is a last-ditch attempt to fight back" at the Hopi tribal council, which the traditionals say does not represent the Hopi people.

Others point out that the traditionals "refuse to work with the tribal council" on the land issue, but traditionals say that to work with the tribal council is to recognize it, and thus cooperation is not possible.

But, as Mina Lansa pointed out to the Congressmen, it is difficult to compromise with natural law. "The land is a mother, a living thing to us that produces food and other living things. You cannot deny anyone from sharing it," she said.

[Thanks to Gayle High Pine, the New York Times News Service, Qua'Toqti, Navajo Times, Mark Panitch in the Washington Post, Hopi Action News, Martin Waldron in the New York Times, United Press International, Associated Press, Arizona Citizen, Arizona Daily Star, Los Angeles Times, Newsweek, and Richard LaCourse of the American Indian Press Association News Serice for information used here.]

What Manner Of Man Was He ?

[This essay is by Rodney Barker, who submits it to readers of AKWESASNE NOTES on behalf of Rena Benally, wife of a Navajo man murdered in New Mexico just a year ago. Barker, a non-Indian, was in Farmington, New Mexico, in June of last year, when native people and police clashed during a parade of U.S. soldiers wearing 19th-Century cavalry costumes, marching with the "Sheriff's Posse." Barker was caught up in the melee, and arrested for obstruction of an officer, the only non-Indian arrested. He filed a statement with the FBI on the unnecessary brutality dealt out by Farmington police in the incident. As a result of this chance encounter, he met Rena Benally, who wanted someone to write "something about my husband so people would know what kind of a man he was." This is the essay which resulted, and for which we are grateful.]

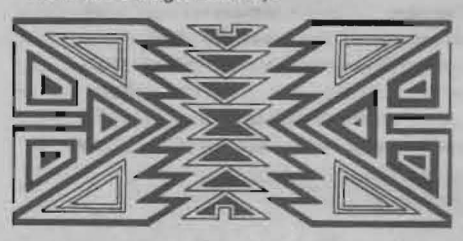
The San Juan Indian Mission sits on a bluff like an old Spanish fortress, overlooking the northwest New Mexico highway. Navajos go there for spiritual and social guidance, for it functions as their community center as well as their church. Several paths lead out from behind the mission to the cemetery where its deceased members lie buried.

Most of them died as violently as battlefield dead. A sample page of the Death Register lists the causes: knife wounds, beatings, burnings, malnutrition, exposure. . . .

White wooden crosses rise out of long mounds of dirt, row after row, like a crop the bones of the buried caused to grow. There are a few neat well-tended graves, but most have been forgotten and are no longer returned to. A line of dogs stirs dust on a low hill, tracking the scent of the city dump less than a mile away.

To the west of the graveyard, the vast arid plains and canyons of the Navajo Reservation spread beneath a brown haze of smog that has hung in the air since the building of the Four Corners power plant ten years ago. The north offers Farmington, New Mexico. Once it was a small agricultural community that rested on the bluffs of the Animas River, but an oil boom in the late '50s turned it into a strip city. Most of the population work for gas, oil and coal companies, and spend their money on Winnebagos, motor boats and snowmobiles. The Animas River becomes polluted as it passes through Farmington and winds towards the reservation. The Colorado mountains wave in the distance.

Doniel, a thirteen-year-old Navajo boy with the sad soft face of a moonchild, comes here often to visit his father's grave. Today he walks hurriedly ahead of his mother, past many small graves decorated with toys and featuring the same first name, "Baby", on the short crosses. He stops before a large well-kept grave on an outer row and reads the letters that spell his father's name: Herman Dodge Benally.



Doniel kneels and takes the grave into his charge: weeding desert grass, rearranging the bouquets of plastic flowers, brushing dirt off the cross, noticing every new depression and discoloration on the raised earth. His head perks suddenly and he shoots a swift glance to his mother. "The rock is gone," he whispers.

Rena Benally stands over him, watching him intently, her clear dark gaze framed by her long heavy black hair. Her husband used to recognize her great natural beauty and affectionately call her Miss Navajo. There is now, however, a wizened tightness around her features, a mannered repose in her expressions, as though the shock was so sudden, her grief so great, the tears dried in her eyes before she cried once.

In an almost toneless voice she explains that there are still many things which do not give peace to Doniel's memory of his father's death. In this case, a rock had rested on the dirt mound of his father's grave, and each time Doniel had seen it there it had prompted thoughts of the rock in the picture that she had found at the death scene. "The Sheriff took me out there the day after it happened and he said, 'This is where he died.' There was blood-caked sand on the ground there, and I looked around and nearby I found the tear-off negative from a Polaroid camera. It was left, I guess, when the police took a picture of my husband where they found him. It wasn't a very good print, but you could see him lying face down, nude from the waist down, and there were great big rocks around his head."

For some reason, Doniel had never thought to move the rock himself. But since his last visit, someone else had removed that constant and disturbing reminder of the murder weapons which lie on the floor of the evidence locker in the county jail in Aztec, New Mexico — traces of hair and blood still on them.

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On April 21, 1974, the bodies of Herman Dodge Benally, 34, and his cousin, John Harvey, 36, were discovered in Choke Cherry Canyon, a remote area of hills and arroyos north of Farmington. Their heads were crushed and their bodies beaten and partially burned.

For almost a week, the only leads in the case consisted of the automobile tire-tracks of a standard-sized American car, and the footprint of a size 12½ hiking boot found at the scene. The break that opened the case came from a Farmington woman who stepped forward after overhearing a high-school youth talking about two boys who had bragged to him about their part in the killings. She identified the youth, and sheriff's officers located him and picked him up. Under questioning, he supplied them with the names of two Anglo teenagers from Farmington: Howard Bender and Matthew Clark. Officers went right after them and brought them in. At short length, they abandoned efforts to argue their innocence and confessed to the slayings.

Interrogation was still being conducted when the sheriff's office received a call that the body of another Navajo man, murdered in a similar manner, had just been discovered in another section of Choke Cherry Canyon. He was believed to have been dead about two weeks.

Some sixty native families with missing relatives showed up at the mortuary before the body was identified — how many more bodies were waiting to be discovered? While representatives from the American Indian Movement organized a search party and began to scour the canyon area, Bender and Clark admitted that they, along with a third youth, Delray Ballinger, had committed this murder too.

Howard Bender was the son of a maintenance man for the Farmington branch of the El Paso Natural Gas Company. He was six foot tall and sixteen years old. He had a reputation as a withdrawn loner — on weekend nights he could be regularly spotted at the A&W Root Beer Drive-In, sitting by himself in his Ford Galaxie.

Matthew Clark was a fifteen-year-old orphan who lived with his brother, a twenty-two-year-old oil rigger. His father had died in an oil fire, and his alcoholic mother had succumbed to sclerosis of the liver. He was known as a bully and a troublemaker who hated alcohol and alcoholics.

Delray Ballinger was the sixteen-year-old son of an oil-field foreman. He differed considerably from the other youths in that he was popular and highly regarded by his classmates and teachers. He had earned his school letter playing football on the junior varsity team and was working full-time at a gas station while going to school.

When all three youths had satisfied sheriff's officers and the polygraph machine that they knew only of three murders and that there had not been any other youths involved, they were transferred to the state hospital in Albuquerque for mental examination.

Navajos, meanwhile, were reacting with a series of demonstrations to protest the murders. They organized and enlisted the support and participation of several thousand marchers who paraded in the streets of Farmington. Young leaders of the demonstration labelled Farmington a "racist town", saying that everyday racist attitudes and discriminatory practices patterned the conditions which had led to the killings.

"We have reason to believe these killings were racially motivated," they stated. "For years, it has been almost a sport, a sort of sick, perverted tradition among Anglo youths of high-school age in Farmington to go into the Indian section of town and physically assault and rob elderly and intoxicated Navajo men and women of whatever possessions they have, for no apparent reason other than that they are Indian. For years, they have verbally and physically harassed and intimidated young Navajo men, women and children on the streets. Yet there have been too few arrests and charges brought against these young Anglo renegades by the Farmington Police Department. Far, far too many times, the police department has been ineffective and insensitive of the many complaints voiced and expressed by our people concerning this matter."

On May 9, in the *Navajo Times*, the Navajo Tribal Council's official newspaper, Wilson Skeet, vice-chairman of the tribal council, stated he had met with the mayor of Farmington that day and "assurance was given that maximum prosecution would be applied when the case comes to trial." Skeet appealed to Navajos to "maintain their tradition of patience and confidence in the county officials that the matter would be settled satisfactorily."

On June 9, a *Farmington Times* article announced the judgment of the court. "All three youths charged in the mutilation murders of three Navajo men in April were sentenced to terms at the New Mexico Boys School at Springer following an all-day hearing in San Juan County District Court Friday. . . The decision by Judge Frank Zinn of Gallup denied a plea by the prosecution to have two of the youths, Delray Ballinger and Howard Bender, both 16, tried as adults. . . . The three youths will be kept at Springer until they are 18, and then may be detained on a year-by-year basis until they are 21, at the discretion of Springer authorities. . . . Judge Zinn closed Friday's hearing to news media as well as all members of the families of the victims. . . All three youths had pleaded guilty. . . Medical and psychiatric testimony at the hearing revealed that in the opinion of the authorities, none of the youths was insane and that they would be 'amenable to treatment' ".

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He gave his name as Herman Dodge Benally, after an uncle, but he was born Benjamin Benally on March 23, 1940, on the reservation at Kirtland. His family was large and poor and depended on the stock and crops they raised on their farm for survival. He spent his early childhood herding sheep in the New Mexico hills, and he didn't start school until he was eleven, when he was invited by Father Botelho at the San Juan Mission, where he had been baptized, to come and live at the mission and catch the bus from there to public school.

He was a slightly-built youth, pensively apart though quick to smile, and he picked up friends easily. Quickly he drew attention to himself as gifted in art and athletics. His sketches of nature scenes were displayed in the parish gallery, and in 1957, he starred for the "Broncos" of Central Junior High during their league-winning season, earning the honorary title of "Basketball King".

Two faded snapshots capture the highlights of this period of his life. In one, the "Broncos" are lined up on a dirt playground in uniform. The Coach is standing to one side; the Captain is kneeling in the foreground holding a trophy on his raised knee — and Herman Benally, flanked and fronted by teammates, is looking out of a squint at the camera, a smile about to come to his lips. He has a young, smooth, good-looking face, high cheekbones, and a thatch of black hair combed neatly back and to the side. He is the only Indian in the picture.

The other shapshot was taken at a spring prom, and the Basketball King stands awkwardly beside his Queen, a white girl wearing a formal gown with a crown of flowers in her hair. They are posed before a banner which reads: "Hats off to the CHAMPS".

(continued on next page)

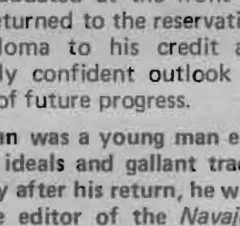
Growing up through his teens into young manhood, Herman Benally lived at the San Juan Mission and involved himself in the activities of the Christian Youth Fellowship. He exemplified the hard-working church-going Indian youth, establishing a particularly close intimacy with the mission Father, who advised him on the importance of education in the American System and encouraged him to take his skills and ambitions to a vocational school.

So he went to the Bureau of Indian Affairs office for information, and there was given a brochure for the Allied Institute of Technology, an industrial trade school in Chicago. It did not have strict educational requirements for admission, and it advertised itself as "The Gateway to Opportunity for thousands of men who have made themselves more useful to American Industry and so, also, to themselves."

Confident that by developing a vocation he would ensure his ability to make a good living, he moved to Chicago, took up residence in the YMCA Hotel, and enrolled in the two-semester course in Mechanical Drafting.

He graduated at the front of his class and returned to the reservation in 1963, a diploma to his credit and with a proudly confident outlook toward his share of future progress.

Herman was a young man enlivened by noble ideals and gallant traditions, and shortly after his return, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Navajo Times* in which he extended his exuberant idealism about life to his People: "Our Navajo Nation can become a greater and stronger government, able to wield much more in the midst of this Atomic Age, only it must have character and principle. Without these two, we may be temporarily strong, but we can never by great. When I speak of Navajo Nation, I am speaking of the people, for they are the nation. . . Where is the Indian known for his ambition and abilities? He was strong in spirit, a symbol of greatness for those who knew him, admired him and respected him. . . What happened to this Indian, the Navajo Indian? . . . Do his character and principles still shine with the same brilliance that set him apart from all others?. . . Does his voice still lift in song of praise for the blessing bestowed on his land, and does he rejoice in freedom and braverv for his people?"

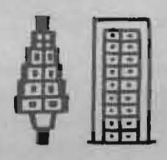


Less than a year later, he married. He had known Rena when they were younger, but after high school, she had married and moved to San Francisco. Her marriage had not lasted, however, and she had returned to the reservation seven years and four children later. When he saw her back, he asked her out on a date, and their first evening together he reminisced light-heartedly about the hours he had passed in his youth watching an eight-year-old girl named Rena ride her bicycle up and down the irrigation ditch. She was surprised, amused, delighted, but thought he was teasing her. "So I asked him what color my bike was," Rena said, "and he said 'blue' and it was blue."

They started going around together, like a couple who had already been together for a long time. The union was immediate and tacit, and as if to make up for lost years, a month later he proposed by way of offering to take care of her and the children. Rena happily agreed.

He wanted a traditional ceremony, but they couldn't afford one so he fashioned two rings out of silver and they drove to the tribal headquarters at Window Rock, filled out the appropriate papers, wrote their names in the registry book, and he became the husband of his "childhood sweetheart" and the instant father of four.

Their life at first was simple and practical. They had no money so they lived in a hogan on her mother's land and farmed for food. A son was born, Benjamin Benally Jr., and they moved into a larger place, a government-built house on the reservation near Farmington that was equipped with running water and electricity. They kept to themselves and went on frequent outings as a family. He had a great passion for the outdoors, and as the children had spent most of their years in a city in a different section of the country, he took them fishing in the rivers and lakes, and hiking out in the backlands well-known to him from his early experiences herding sheep.



He worked on crafts with them, taking trips to ancient Indian ruins in search of pottery sherds with which they made mosaics. He acted carefree and cheerful and could be counted upon to provide the entertainment during the family gatherings. "He used to make up poems. He would look at a sunset and rattle something off and the kids used to laugh at what he'd say because his poems would be clever and funny. Or else he'd look at me and say something real nice about me in a poem-like way," Rena recalls.

They were poor, but they had a roof overhead and food and clothes and all seemed happy.

All was not, however. With the assistance of welfare checks, Herman Benally had been able to provide for his family on wages earned painting, bricklaying, loading and unloading trucks, but the meager pay for long hard work discouraged him. He had made the rounds of all the industries in the area, and even with his Mechanical Drafting diploma from Allied they had passed him over. "He didn't know what to do — he said he could tell from the way the men who did the hiring looked at him he wasn't going to get a job."

Slowly he became resigned to his situation, and when he went into town to find a day job and there would be no work available, with empty and idle time on his hands, he would meet up with friends and they would start drinking.

Rena was not the kind of woman to direct or interfere with her husband's ways, and ultimately she trusted and believed in him. "He wasn't mean when he drank. It was more as if he drank to control himself." When she did try to talk to him about his drinking, he always managed to pacify her worries by joking about them. "He'd hid bottles around the house, and the kids would tease him and ask him why he hid his bottles, why he didn't just keep them all on the shelf. And he'd joke back that liquor tasted better after he'd hidden it."

But his health began to weaken. He was ill frequently and taking medication for his heart and liver. "I asked him to stop and he said he couldn't stop drinking — he couldn't make it through the day without drinking. He said when he tried to stop he got bad stomach cramps."

And now he began to talk about a death feeling. "He seemed to know. He told me he had this fear he wasn't going to live much longer. He said he'd seen signs."

Nevertheless, he maintained hope that circumstances might change, and in early 1974, that hope was stirred when he applied for a trainee position with Utah International Navajo Mines. He was told his application would be considered and he would be notified of the decision in mid-May. Outwardly excited by the possibility that the long season of part-time work and unemployment had run its course, he made the ritual promises to his family of making up for the lean years, and the entire household looked forward to a letter of acceptance in the mail.

The letter never came. Rena thinks they must have read in the newspapers what happened to Herman Benally.

She was familiar with his going into town and not coming back at night. Sometimes he would get too drunk to make it home and would stay with relatives in town. So when he didn't return that Saturday night she assumed he had gone home with a cousin. "But that Sunday, — the day they found his body — that Sunday I felt that something awful had happened. Like something was wrong. I just wasn't myself."

Because her radio was broken she didn't hear the news on Navajo Hour when it was announced that two bodies had been found. Her mother-in-law was the first to know. She recognized the broadcast description of a tattoo on one of the bodies. Rena knew nothing until Monday, when a friend came and told her the police had found his body and drove her to the mortuary.

"I couldn't believe it was him when I first saw him lying there in a casket, he looked so different." His face was caved in and scarred with deep cuts and burns. Some had been sewn closed. His nose was down flat as if pressed to a window. His teeth were all broken off. There was sand and blood still in his hair.

"I never thought I'd see him look like that,"

It was a strand of hair she had left long when she had given him a haircut several days earlier, telling him she would cut it later, that confirmed the identification for her.

* * * * * * * *

The court ruled the Navajo men's murderers as juveniles. The trial was closed, the records sealed like military secrets, and details of the murder night were withheld from the public. None of the victims' families had a clear understanding of what had actually happened. All that Rena Benally knew was what she had read in the newspapers. One account said the boys brought the murdered men's fingers to school in a paper bag.

Late in the summer, Rena Benally returned to her husband's death scene one afternoon, and spoke of the questions that still haunted her. "How did they pick them up?" she wanted to know, for her husband had been beaten several times before by groups of white boys while on his way home from town, and would not have gotten willingly into a car with any of them.

"And I wonder what he said when they were torturing him. Knowing him, I think he was trying to say something or trying to talk to them. And I think they were probably surprised at his English because it was better than mine . . . Maybe he was trying to talk his way out of whatever he was going through, whatever it was they were trying to make him do. I know they were trying to make him do something. What, I don't know. . . I wonder if that's the reason they tortured him more, because of the way he spoke. John (Harvey) couldn't speak English well and he wasn't tortured too bad."

The area of Choke Cherry Canyon where Herman Benally's body was found by two hikers was desolate and rock-faced, cracked with ravines and arroyos. There was not enough water for anything green to grow except the stunted and twisted pinon bush. Trash piles marked the spot he was brought to as a place for parties in the desert. The route the Sheriff showed her where her husband had tried to outrun his tormentors crossed a flat sandy area indented in a sandstone cliff like a bay in a rocky coastline.

Rena had been assured there were only two youths involved, but in dreams she has seen other youths, white boys and girls, sitting on the cliffs like spectators, watching her husband fight for his life.

Many months had passed since the murder night, but pieces of the charred fabric of Herman Benally's clothes were still visible, scattered on the ground and hanging in pinon bushes. Kicking the sand at the exact spot where he was found, Rena talked about the clots of blood-caked sand she had found there on her first visit, and how it looked as though someone had dug up the stained sand, and how that made her feel like coming back with red paint and spraying the sand and rocks all around so it would never go away.

Mussing the ground with her foot, she unearthed something which made her bend over suddenly, and she came up holding a fire-blackened section of a pants zipper in the opened palm of her hand. **"Only last week I learned," she said quietly, "that he had been castrated too."**

San Juan County Undersheriff Doug Brown, the officer-in-charge of the triple-murder case, said he had investigated this case more deeply and diligently than any other in his long history in law enforcement. He was appalled when the crimes were called the error of children. "I had three solid first-degree murder cases — solid as this desk. We tried to get them bound over in adult court, but we couldn't. It was all up to the judge and doctors. The doctors said the kids could be rehabilitated. The judge went by the book, and the book says a person under the age of 18 is a juvenile. That's the way the law reads, is his thinking."

When told about Rena Benally's understanding of the circumstances surrounding her husband's death, he drew a long breath and shook his head slowly. "I'll give you one hundred dollars if you can make up a rumor I haven't heard already come in off the street. . . There were no cuttings or tearings on any of the bodies. They were not mutilated, just beaten — beaten bad — and burned. There were first degree burns, lots of them, but the burnings were not an attempt at cremation. And the finger story came from the fact that one of the kids had a sponge rubber thumb he'd bought at a novelty store. Somehow that got blown up into a story about one of the boys carrying around a bagful of fingers at school."

Among the papers in the Benally file was the Coroner's report. The autopsy was performed at the School of Medicine at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. The cause of death was listed as "contusions multiple, brain, subdural hematoma. Fracture, hairline, right frontal area, from midline towards the right eye. Lacerations, multiple, jagged and deep, scalp." The report included a description of the burns, severe and extensive, with a concentration around the face and genital area.

Herman Benally's blood alcohol-content at the time of death was .444 (.150 is legally drunk in New Mexico).

"In all my years on the force I've seen nothing like this one," Brown continued. "It's senseless, all the way through. Those kids sat there and their parents and attorneys were sitting beside them, and I asked them what happened and they told me just like I'm talking to you. We went here, we did this; we went there, we did that. No emotion, no remorse, nothing. One thing just led to the next and they just did it. They weren't hopped-up on anything and they weren't drunk themselves. They just did it. That's all they could say. They didn't know why. They couldn't tell us why. They just did it."

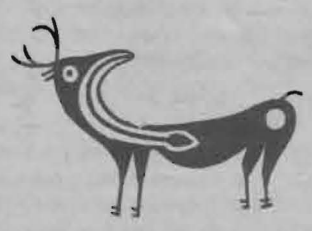
Saturday night, April the twentieth. The traffic was light, composed mostly of teenagers driving the entire length of town, then turning and driving back along closed but lighted stores, cruising through the A&W parking lot, slowing to look for friends in the bright windows of Sambo's Restaurant. If someone had noticed the blue '65 Ford Galaxie with two teenagers in it, he

would probably have thought of them as classmates at Farmington High with girls and cars on their minds, and would have thought nothing in particular about the way they kept passing and re-passing the "Indian bars".

They turned into a narrow dark street, just past the Esquire Liquor Store, and drove slowly into a ghetto-like section of town. Drunken native people wobbled down the sidewalks with packaged liquor under their arms, passing others who lay slumped against buildings tilting quarts of wine and watching passing cars with indifferent stares.

The young driver slowed the Ford down as he passed two Indian men passed out at the edge of a vacant lot. Once by, he turned swiftly around, pulling to a stop at the curb. Both youths jumped out and in less than a minute they had dragged the unconscious men into the backseat of the idling car and jumped back in.

One of the Navajos, Herman Benally, came briefly out of his stupor and was conscious long enough to say something in a language neither of the youths understood. He was told they were taking him to a party and he made no reply.



The driver eased cautiously through the Saturday night traffic, made a swift passage through a neighborhood on the outskirts of town, and headed down the twisting dirt road of Choke Cherry Canyon. The two men in the back muttered, changed positions. Their presence filled the car with heavy wine fumes.

The youths in front exchanged glances and whispered. It had become a Saturday night ritual of theirs to pick up a drunken Indian, drive him out into the hills north of town, beat him up and leave him stranded out there. It proceeded like a game, and each time the violence of the game had been raised to a higher power. The previous Saturday night they, and a friend, had taken one out, worked him over, exploded a firecracker in his ass, and left him miles from help. A week had passed, and they had not gotten into any trouble. Now they intended to repeat the game, two times.

They slowed to a stop at a spot where couples went to park and groups to drink. Beer cans glittered like animal eyes. The headlights pointed out the black ashes of campfire sites, and turned a sandstone ridge white against a starry nightsky. There was not a sound from the cool black countryside. They got out, opened the back door, and pulled Herman Benally out. Because there were two, they had decided to split them up.

A trail led up the ridge, and holding Benally between them, they walked him up it. His filmed eyes opened and shut, opened and shut, but he didn't seem to understand what was happening until they brought him out on a ledge. He struggled backwards. There was a scuffle. They shoved him until he plunged over the rock-edge into darkness. Then they ran quickly back down.

Benally was moaning and trying to stand up when one of the youths who had picked up a rock on the way down, cracked it against the side of his head, and he curled and fell, silent.

They returned to the car and drove off for approximately a mile-and-a-half, down another twisting dirt road. There they dragged John Harvey out, laid him down and undressed him, ripping buttons off. One youth stooped, brought out a pack of matches and lighted Harvey's clothes. The other lifted them with a stick, walked over and dropped the fire on the naked man.

Harvey cried out, scrambled up and tried to run, but he fled from one behind him towards one ahead of him. They tripped him and kicked him. He got up and fought back. He was a heavily-built man and he put up a furious resistance, staggering around and shaking off his attackers. But his drunkenness drained his strength and coordination.

They closed in on him, hitting, kicking, poking with the stick, now on fire. He stood bent over, flailing, swinging out, turning, turning as they circled and struck. When he went down at last and was barely moving anymore, they ran for rocks, carrying them back and throwing them at him as he tried to crawl away. When he no longer moved, they kicked sheep manure over his head and headed back for Benally.

He had not moved. They dragged him by his arms out onto the sandy flats, then stripped him from the waist down. Their attack followed the same procedure used on Harvey. With a stick they pitched his burning pants onto his nakedness. He came shrieking out of unconsciousness. The crackling trousers seemed to cling as he recoiled, squirmed, tried to brush them off. He struggled to his feet and started to run. The boys kept pace with him, blocking his way with punches, and when he went down, they started kicking. He struck out in a desperate frenzy. His pants were tossed on him again, and he writhed away, rose again, and blundered off, beating at his burning jacket and the flames flashing in his face. He was tripped and sprawled forward on the ground. They stabbed him with the burning stick.

When he lay still, they tramped through the night to the cliffs fifty feet away, coming back with large rocks which they lifted high and threw down on the head at their feet. Benally was already dead, but they made the ending last by making two trips for rocks, which came to rest in a circle around his head.

One of the youths knelt and pulled a silver ring off Benally's hand, and then the two of them walked back and got in their car and left. They did not try to hide the bodies or cover them. They could have dragged the men into an arroyo and buried them and they might still be there, bones in the earth. But they left each where he lay and drove back down the twisting dirt road towards the streak of lights in the distant night that was Farmington.

They didn't talk about their acts during the drive, as though it had meant no more than a recitation of history: two more Indians had died in the West.

* * * * * * *

Death shattered Rena Benally's uncomplicated domestic life as though it had been an illusion. The center of her existence tightened around an incommunicable horror: no one could begin to comprehend what she had to live with, and without. Images of the murder night flashed through her sleep, keeping her awake at night, filling her with an obsession for revenge: "getting a knife and slashing those boys up." The sorrow, confusion, despair created thoughts and feelings she had never imagined having before, but they were impossible to control and seemed they would stay with her forever.

During the following months, however, as the triple-slaying became the rallying point for Navajos protesting discrimination, racism and injustice in Farmington, she came to realize that her personal tragedy was interwoven with the prolonged tragedy perpetuated against all native people in America. And through the experience of reflecting on her husband's life "so people would know what kind of a man he was, and so my feelings would be understood," she came to understand how profoundly his story epitomized "The Indian's Story."

"These things I didn't understand he used to tell me — now I'm beginning to realize. I wasn't very concerned then. I spent most of the time taking care of the kids. Now I see there's an outside world and there's things to be concerned with out there."

The unity of spirit and the broadened perspective she gained helped draw her out of her suffering, moderated much of her loneliness and pain, and supplied her with a sustaining strength and courage. Early in the Fall, she felt confident enough to return on her own to the Sheriff's Department in Aztec for her husband's personal effects.

"I explained to him (the officer on the desk) that I was told I could come back and pick up his things after everything was over. He looked at me and said, 'Is everything over?' I said no, I didn't think it will ever be over, and he stood there thinking about what I'd said and then he said 'Okay' and went to a back room. I could see him getting his things. He kept looking back at me.

"He was coming back with them when the phone rang. He could just have given me the things, but he answered it and made me wait. He kept looking at me while he talked. And two girls behind the desk kept looking at me too. . . I got his ring back. There was a tag and on the tag it said it had been taken off

Matthew Clark. And I got his shoes back. You could see the scratch marks underneath where he had tried to push himself back from the ledge. There was sand and blood mixed together along the soles.

"They gave me his shoes and one sock. I asked where his jacket was. 'May I have it?' I said. 'Even if it's burned, I want to take it home.' I didn't want anything of Herman's left in that place. He said it was too far gone — 'unsalvageable', he said — and they had thrown it away.

"He kept staring at me, listening to every word I said, watching how I acted. He really wanted to know how I felt about everything, but I wouldn't let him. He asked me if I wanted to stay and have a cup of coffee and talk, but I said, 'No thank you — I just wanted his things.' And that's all I said and walked out.

"He followed me out and watched after me, but I just kept walking."

What's Happen On The Powwow Trail

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

JUNE

13-15 Chiloquin, Oregon: Traditional Unity Gathering, coordinated by the Bear Tribe & the Chiloquin Family. Sweats, dancing, teaching, learning. No alcohol, drugs, or competitive dancing. Contact: POBox 1961, Klamath Falls, Oregon 97601.

14-15 Sanborn, New York: Iroquois Cultural Event at Niagara-Wheatfield High School, sponsored by Six Nations Iroquois Singing Societies. Art festival, powwow, movies. Contact: Native American Center for the Living Arts, 466 Third St., Niagara Falls, N.Y. 14301 or telephone (716) 234-2427.

20-22 Reno, Nevada: Powwow, North Wells St. Contact: Powwow Committee, 1901 Helena Ave., Reno, Nevada 89502.

20-22 Cache, Oklahoma: 4th annual Chief Wildhorse Descendants Powwow. Contact:rs. Marion Alamanza, Route 1, Indiahoma, Oklahoma 73552.

20-22 Duck Lake, Saskatchewan: Powwow at Student Residence. Tipi village. No liquor. Contact: Gordon Tootoosis, Box 10, Duck Lake, Saskatchewan or phone 467-2028.

26-28 Brandon, Manitoba: Native Education Conference. Contact: Brandon University.

27-29 Carnegie, Oklahoma: Tiapiah Society Powwow, Chieftain Park.

27-29 Colorado Springs, Colorado: Powwow & Arts & Crafts. Garden of the Gods. Contact: Lone Feather Council, POBox 904, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80901.

27-29 Brockton, Montana: Badlands Celebration.

27-4 Boston, Massachusetts: Navajo Arts and Crafts Society Sale. New England Life Hall.

JULY

4-6 Fort Kipp, Montana: Celebration & Rodeo.

4-6 Mashpee, Cape Cod, Massachusetts: Powwow.

16-19 Philadelphia, Mississippi: Choctaw Fair & Stickball Game. Contact: Choctaw Tribal Office, Route 7, Box 21, Philadelphia, Mississippi 39350.

12 Pontiac, Michigan: Wide Track Festival Indian Powwow. Contact: Oakland County American Indians, Inc., Sharon Hunt, 70 Whittimore, Pontiac, Michigan. Call (313) 334-0928.

16-18 Green Bay, Wisconsin: Association of American Indian Physicians Annual Meeting, Downtown Holiday Inn. Contact: Assn of American Indian Physicians, 1300 McGee †103, Norman, Oklahoma. Call (405) 321-1122.

17-20 Red Rock, Oklahoma: Otoe Powwow at Agency.

18-19 Gonzales, Louisiana: United American Indian Powwow. Contact: American Indian Center, 2799 Scenic Highway, Baton Route, Louisiana 70805.

19-20 Montville, Connecticut: Friendship Days, Camp Oakdale. Contact: Norman Deveau, 168 Windham St., Willimantic, Connecticut, or call Tall Oak at (203) 848-8433.

23-26 Danville, Illinois: National Powwow III, Eastern Illinois Fairgrounds. Contact: Gary Buerk, 7200 Jeffers Road, Whitehouse, Ohio 43571 or phone (419) 875-6983.

25-27 Kansas City, Missouri: Annual Powwow at Lee's Summit Fairgrounds. Contact: Roberta Scott, Heart of America Indian Center, 3220 Independence Ave., Kansas City, Missouri 64124 or phone (816) 231-4736.

31-3 Sheridan, Wyoming: All-American Indian Days.

AUGUST

11-16 Anadarko, Oklahoma: American Indian Exposition.

15-17 Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario: North American Indian Unity Convention, Garden River Reserve. Alcohol / drugs not allowed. Contact: Elizabeth Jones, Site 5, Box 4, Route 4, Garden River, Ontario.

21-24 Poplar, Montana: Oil Celebration.

30-31 Mission, B.C.: Fraser Valley International War Dance Festival. Parade & floats. Contact: Karen Paisley, Mission-Abbotsford Friendship Centre, POBox 3145, Mission, B.C. V2V 4J3 or phone 826-1281.

NEWLY-PASSED INDIAN HEALTH ACT COULD SIGNAL BETTER PROGRAMS

Washington, D.C. – – The Indian Health Care Improvement Act is one of the most significant Indian health proposals ever to be submitted to the U.S. Congress. It promises an impact that will affect most native people in this and future generations. However, despite a worsening health situation among native peoples, the proposed IHCI Act is receiving little attention and may not be passed unless the Congress is pushed.

The original legislation, S.2938, was proposed in 1974, and stressed implementing a "major national goal to provide the quantity and quality of health services which will permit the health status of Indians to be raised to the highest possible level and to encourage the maximum participation of Indians in the planning and management of those services."

The bill is designed to help Indian Health Service handle some unmet needs. Less than half of the IHS hospitals can be accredited – in fact, less than a quarter of the hospitals even meet minimum fire safety standards.

Then there is the chronic personnel shortage. Two thirds of the hospitals, four-fifths of the outpatient clinics, and half of the field clinics are at or below 80% staffing levels.

This means that critical services are not performed. Only one person in ten whose deafness and ear problems is diagnosed as otitis media will be able to obtain the necessary surgery, for instance. And 98% of the persons needing hearing aids will not receive them. 57% of all dental needs are unmet.

Because of the isolation and poverty of most native communities, substantial support services are required for every medical facility. Laboratories must be included, as well as filtration and sanitation plants. Communication and transportation systems must be constructed. Over 700 housing units are needed for staff alone.

Sometimes, IHS conditions are such that professional medical personnel just can't take it. Two nurses who complained this year about conditions at Shiprock Hospital in the Navajo Nation were fired, then reinstated if they would accept a transfer. Sandra Kramer, 29, of Maryland had received commendations as an effective employee before she began to rock the boat. So had Valerie Koster, 23, of Iowa. Kramer was named acting head of pediatrics nursing.

The pair said they had addressed complaints through the hospital's chain of command, but nothing happened. Then they wrote a letter to the White House. There was no action – but when they released their letter to the Navajo Times, they were fired for "continued disruption of the workforce and conduct unbecoming an Indian Health Service employee."

The Navajo Medical School

Meanwhile, the Navajo Nation's proposed medical school was scrutinized by the Arizona Medical Association in April with mixed results. University of Arizona President John Schaefer said that "our nation, which has spent billions of dollars on bombs," could scarcely refuse to aid the proposal. But Dr. Daniel B. Carroll, a Phoenix doctor, said that to open a medical school for only 25 students would be a financial disaster for its founders.

But Dr. Taylor McKenzie, a Navajo surgeon and the only one of the 38 native doctors in the U.S. who works on a reservation, said he believes the school can be set up for a "reasonable price" with initial federal funding, and basic science instruction to be held at a nearby university. He said existing hospitals and clinics on the Navajo Reservation would be used for clinical purposes.

Even so, the school still may cost as much as $30-million. It is hoped that the school will lead in the planning, development, operation, and evaluation of a health service system for the Navajo people which would serve as a model for other native nations.

The shortage of native people in health professions is apalling – there is only one native person in optometry school now in the whole U.S. – W. James Hughes, a Choctaw. And yet only one native adult out of five who needs eyeglasses will receive them.

Schools which have begun training programs are drawing back because of lack of funding. The only two schools offering Indian people a masters degree in Public Health Administration (MPH) say unless funds are forthcoming, 12 students will be left stranded with another year of study to go, and ten more will lose scholarship assistance. The schools are the University of California at Berkeley and the Oklahoma University at Oklahoma City – each starting in 1971 with a 3-year grant from the now-defunct Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO], channelled through Indian Health Service.

Robert L. Hunter, a Washo-Paiute, chairman of the Indian Advisory Board for the MPH programs, charges that at the same time IHS can't find funds for native people in the program, it is funding a non-Indian working on a MPH degree who is "being groomed for the position of service unit director in Santa Fe." Indians in the MPH program claim that IHS is afraid of this new breed of highly-qualified Indian. "It seems we're looked upon as uppity," one said.

For urban native peoples, the situation can get desperate. In Boston, two young social workers at Massachusetts General Hospital were so appalled by the lack of health care obtained by Boston's 3,000 native persons that they established a small clinic at the hospital to provide medical advice and guidance. The two, Trudy Yukl and Robbie Klein, discovered in the spring of 1973 that over a four-year period, only four Indians had been referred to the Social Service Department – and none of these had ever returned to the hospital to keep medical appointments.

In Los Angeles, Connie Uri, M.D.; Luella Thorton from the Huntington Park Indian Free Clinic, and Julia Mont of the Hispano Center of East Los Angeles have been trying to get the 60-bed Fort MacArthur Army hospital for native people – the building was closed recently. It contains a modern 12-chair dental clinic, the latest in X-ray equipment, and was built only in 1930. The nearest facility now is in Phoenix, Arizona.

In the San Francisco Bay area, there is the Urban Indian Health Board, a pilot project. In Sonoma County, a 143-acre facility has been converted into an Indian health clinic and educational center.

In Minneapolis, the Indian Health Board Clinic at 2217 Nicollet Ave. serves some 2200 patients each month, mostly native persons. There are 16 other urban Indian clinics in the U.S.

Class Action Suits against HEW

The shortage of funds, facilities, and personnel have caused HEW to refuse services to certain groups of people who believe they are entitled to services – especially the group known as "urban Indians." Removed from the health facilities on the reservation, poor as they may be, and unable to pay the costs of medical care in the cities, urban Indians often find themselves in chronically-poor health in the city environment.

To remedy the discrimination against them by IHS's master agency, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), the National Indian Youth Council has instigated two class-action suits against the department in Albuquerque, New Mexico on behalf of the 440,000 urban Indians in the U.S.

One suit, a civil suit entitled *Lewis v. Weinberger*, seeks to "compel the defendants to treat Indians eligible to receive medical services" in line with the Snyder Act of 1921, and "to give all such Indians equal considerations for services provided through the expenditure of contract health care funds." Other suits are designed to force IHS to rewrite its regulations to remove current limitations. The cases are expected to be heard by District Judge Howard C. Bratton this June.

The IHS now provides services via 51 hospitals, 86 health centers (including 26 in schools) and several hundred other "health stations" across the U.S. Only persons "residing on or near reservations" are deemed eligible for treatment.

IHS Director Emery A. Johnson, in written response to a related case, states that for IHS to cover urban Indians would require an additional $530-million in the IHS budget, or somewhat over $1,000 for each urban-based native. Johnson also wrote that even as it now stands, only 70% of the existing reservation Indian population is now being served by IHS.

Reaping the Colonial Harvest

Statistics gathered this year by the U.S. Senate's permanent investigations subcommittee show that native peoples have by far the poorest health of all persons living on the mid-North American continent. Indians suffer from 60 times more dysentery, 30 times more strep throat, 11 times more hepatitis and 10 times more tuberculosis than United States citizens.

The death rate, although declining over the last ten years, is still 40 times higher for any age group than the death rate for all U.S. people.

The statistics fall in place: death from influenza and pneumonia among Indians is three times greater than the general population, and four times greater from tuberculosis.

The problems which cause the bad health are complex, ranging from the loss of a way of life and associated health practices and people to the despair of dealing with the frustrations of being colonized leading to alcoholism and suicide. The bureaucracy causes still more problems, as does the isolation of native communities from facilities and personnel. And there is a deep-seated distrust of the IHS services which are provided.

Subcommittee Chairman Henry M. Jackson, a Washington Democrat, said the U.S. Government, responsible by law for the health needs of Indians, was responsible for the tragic statistics.

"Central to the Indian health tragedy is the manpower shortage among physicians and related health personnel," says a report by the Senate's Interior Committee. "Leading medical officials have given truly dire warnings that any further decline in manpower could have critical implications for the health of Indians. Yet, despite these warnings, the severe manpower shortages which are now being experienced by IHS are likely to become even more acute in the coming years."

Dr. James Felson, an IHS official, says the IHS already has 30 vacancies with 65 more coming up July 1. Even a new bonus, adding about $12,000 to starting pay of about $18,000 a year, is failing to attract doctors.

Two of the subcommittee's investigators and several Indian witnesses told of overworked staff and antiquated equipment, and cited cases of patients dying because of incorrect diagnoses. "The federal government is responsible for medical malpractice against Indians who suffer and die because HEW doesn't take Indian health care seriously," Senator Jackson said last autumn.

Keither Adkinson, an investigator, told the committee there were vast differences in care within the system. "Whereas children at Hopi may wait only three weeks for the [eardrum] surgery, some Navajos have been waiting ten years," he said.

Jackson noted that there are diseases found on Indian reservations that are no longer tabulated for the rest of the nation. He cited typhoid fever, diptheria, trachoma. A 12-year-old Navajo girl died of bubonic plague, the Black Death that killed nearly a third of the population of medieval Europe, just last autumn.

During the hearings, the IHS was characterized as "understaffed, underfunded, and third rate." One reservation doctor, who refused to give his name for fear of retributions from his superiors in the service, recounted in his Senate testimony some case histories, such as the 40-year-old woman who had died of curable tuberculosis of the lung because no one at the health facility where she had gone for treatment had time to apply suction to her lungs, thus leaving her to drown "in her own secretions." The doctor also told of an infant who had almost been cured of salmonella poisoning, but had died of unknown complications because nurses did not have the time to watch the child's progress. He added that the infant probably would have lived if it had been at home.

He said that his hospital averages "about one needless death about every six weeks to two months." He told of two men stabbed in a knife fight. One bled to death from a minor wound while doctors were treating the other more seriously-injured man – the nurse, new to the job, had thirty other patients to look after.

"We see people die from treatable, curable diseases. We see people die of diarrhea, diabetis, infections, rheumatic heart diseases, typhoid fever, diptheria, bubonic plague," the physician said. "These would not be tolerated anywhere else in the United States. Here it is a way of life."

[Thanks to Herbert Black of the Boston Globe, the American Indian Press Association, Richard R. Leger of the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post, Associated Press, American Optometric Association News, Kathleen MacDonald of the Arizona Daily Star, and the Friends Committee on National Legislation for information used here.]

THE GREAT NORTHERN CONTINENTAL SELL-OUT: CANADA.... AN AMERICAN FRONTIER....

"WHAT THE NATIVES ARE TO CANADA CANADA IS TO THE UNITED STATES"

Washington, D.C. — Is a *one-hundred-billion-dollar* project underway on native lands across the North American continent? Has the United States already begun its takeover of Canada?

Scare tactics? Science fiction? Consider the facts.

NAWAPA — North American Water and Power Alliance — is the name of a project first dreamt up by the Ralph M. Parsons Co. of Los Angeles, one of the world's largest engineering and construction firms. It would consist of a half-dozen dams 1500 feet high, a reservoir in the Rocky Mountain Trench 500 miles long, a shipping canal crossing the Prairies from the Great Lakes and perhaps continuing to Vancouver, 50 different dams, canals, tunnels and reservoirs to move water from Northern Canada and Alaska to 33 states of the United States of America, and possibly even to three states of Mexico.

Senator Frank Moss of Utah presented NAWAPA to the United States Senate on September 1, 1965.

Never could happen? The following is a brief summary of dams, pipelines and water diversions that are at present in progress, finished, or proposed in Canada at this time. Knowledge of some is not officially public, although information has leaked out. How many others are in secret planning stages is not known.

British Columbia

The Columbia River proposal was started and finished when W.A.C. Bennett was Premier of B.C. This project was strictly for the benefit of the State of Washington. It has been a complete fiasco for Canada, and British Columbia in particular.

The present NDP government of Dave Barnett is planning a 100,000-square-mile development, including 6 hydro dams, 3 new towns, 5 sawmills, 1 pulpmill, development of mineral reserves, and a network of railway connections including a link with the Yukon for the express benefit of Rio-Tinto Zinc.

As of 30 April, 1974, reports have been made that a system of hydro-electric dams is being considered for the Fraser River, about 50 miles east of Prince George. Two reports on the system have become public. Nine dams are proposed in all, and the project is known as "System E". The proposed dams were first considered in 1963. Although they were shelved then, they were not forgotten.

The project is reported to have far-reaching effects on the environment, including vast flooding, elimination of a salmon run, and possible contamination of the Fraser by aquatic parasites from the Arctic drainage. The 9 projects of System E involved 5 storage reservoirs combined with power plants: Upper Fraser's Grand Canyon, Cariboo Falls on the Cariboo River, Hobson Lake, Clearwater-Azure (upper) and Hemp Creek.

The 450-foot earth dam on the McGregor would be capable of diverting the flow of that stream into the adjoining Peace River system, shutting off about 97% of that river. The project would flood 50,000 acres of valley bottom.

Churchill Falls/Labrador

This project was just about completed before anyone realized that it existed. Premier Moore of Newfoundland recently proposed yet more dams on the Lower Churchill River.

Aishihik River/Yukon

Not much seems to be known about this project except surveys were done about 1971. It is known that Rio-Tinto Zinc has zinc mines in the area, and zinc mining requires a large amount of power.

Offshore Drilling/Beaufort Sea, Arctic

The Beaufort Sea is the most difficult and hazardous off-shore area that the oil industry has ever operated in the world. Yet the Canadian Government only recently made its intentions to approve drilling there known publicly, and it did not conduct studies of the environment before a decision was made. Native people were not involved in the decision. Scientists believe knowledge there is so meager it is impossible to predict the consequences of large-scale interactions of spilled oil, ice, currents, and climates.

Great Bear River/Northwest Territories

There are two proposals for the 70-mile-long Great Bear River. One is for three dams, the other for two. Two communities, Fort Franklin and Port Radium on Great Bear Lake will suffer from flooding. The lake will be raised six feet along the 1,500-mile shore.

Churchill River/Saskatchewan

The Saskatchewan Power Corporation wants to build a hydro-electric dam on the Churchill River in the northeastern part of the province. The main dam would be 150-feet high and 4,200 feet long. Two other dikes would have to be built. The dam at Wintega Falls would create a lake 70 miles long, eliminating six sets of rapids which now connect 7 lakes on the Churchill River. Land claims by native people in the area have not been settled.

Presumably the same multi-national corporations that have built the other projects will handle this so-called "Canadian development program".

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline

In 1973, the Canadian Arctic Gas Study Group Ltd. pushed for a pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley. In 1974, the National Energy Board started hearings on the proposal, which would override native claims in the north.

Northern Ontario Water Diversion

This project calls for dams on the Albany, Severn, Winisk, and Attawapiskat Rivers in northern Ontario. Surveys were done in 1965 and 1972 at a cost of $10-million. At first, both Ontario and Canadian Governments denied any such studies, but then admitted it, adding that the project had been shelved.

James Bay/Quebec

Premier Robert Bourassa's carnival-like announcement of the "Project of the Century" promised 130,000 jobs for Quebec, more power for the province, and assured the power would not be used for uranium enrichment. Now, however, the jobs of even a temporary nature will probably be only about 12,000, the Quebec legislature is talking about not one but two uranium enrichment plants, and in May, 1974, Hydro-Quebec disclosed it is awaiting approval of a $281-million agreement to export electricity to the New York Power Authority. The project will take 133,000-square-miles of Cree and Inuit lands, leaving them with a 2,000-square-mile reserve.

The Common Denominators

All of these projects have common denominators.

— all are on lands of the native people, who have been the last to know what is being planned for the only lands they have left.

— all of the projects are paid out of the public purse, yet large multi-national corporations benefit. Next to the natives, the public has been the last to know how their money is to be spent or why.

— all of the projects have been shrouded in secrecy as long as possible.

— the same corporate names crop up in project after project, names such as Bechtel, Brinco, Cominco, and Rio-Tinto Zinc.

— environmental impact studies are never or seldom done until there is a public outcry and then the studies are to little or too late — or both.

Two American dams close to the Canadian-U.S. border have recently come under attack by native people living to the north of the border. The Garrison Dam in North Dakota will seriously lower the standard of drinkable water in Manitoba's Red and Souris Rivers, and the Skagit Dam in the State of Washington will flood yet more valleys in B.C.'s Rocky Mountains.

[Thanks to Linda Diebel of the Montreal Gazette, Mark Daly of the Montreal Star, and Richard Cleroux of Toronto Globe and Mail for part of the information used here.]

CHURCHILL RIVER PROJECT LACKS CITIZEN, NATIVE PARTICIPATION

Stanley Mission, Saskatchewan — A native group has charged that the provincially-sponsored Churchill River Study has consistently refused to respect the rights and interests of northern native people whose lives will be drastically affected by government proposals for hydro-electric developments and water diversion.

The Missinipe Committee, an independent group of residents of the Churchill River basin of northeast Saskatchewan, charge that the "citizen's" study was conceived, designed, and carried out "wholly by white, southern, university-trained civil servants."

Like the James Bay Project or the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, or the development of northwestern British Columbia, or the flooding of South Indian Lake in Manitoba, most Canadians regard the Churchill Basin developments as taking place in a vast wasteland peopled only by a few dissolute Indians, who will be aided by this "development" for the good of humanity.

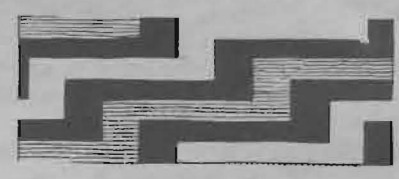
December 12, 1972, was the day the Saskatchewan people officially heard of tentative plans for a $170-million project. It consisted of a hydroelectric dam on the Churchill River, and another on the Fond-du-Lac River at Elizabeth Falls, plus some other works. Forests of spruce, jackpine, birch and poplar will be flooded.

Like the other projects, this one is justified by dubious economic and political gains, predicated on the unproven and unethical hypothesis that "more electricity" is needed at an ever-spiraling pace.

The project is part of a continental resource system development that seems bound to lock Canada into the grip of the United States.

Officially, the Churchill River Study is to provide for "citizen input" into planning. From the native viewpoint, the Study is just public relations tactics to whip up interest and support for the project. The Missinipe Committee was given only $27,000 of the $2.5-million available, and has been refused access to the public information sector of the study to disseminate the feelings of the native population, the people of the province who know the most about the area.

The Prince Albert district chiefs and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians took action to bar study staff from Indian reserves in the affected area. Doug Elias, who directed the public information section of the study for its first ten months, quit in 1974, claiming that native participation in the planning was a sham.



"Yours sincerely...."

What A Minister of State Said to the Cree of James Bay

Now, as to property.
We recognise, of course —
As there appears to be no viable alternative —
That you have lived in this land
For thousands of years, you and your people;
That you have hunted in the forests
And fished in the lakes and streams
Inherited from your forebears,
And that you regard this land as your own,
Since it has given you life
And received your dead for so long.

But there is something that you do not,
It seems, fully understand.

You see, about sixty years ago, your land —
or perhaps I should say the land on which you live —
Was included in the territory that comes under
The jurisdiction of one of our Canadian Provinces:
It became Provincial Crown Land.
Unfortunately, the Provincial Government forgot —
Despite my urgent efforts to remind them —
To tell you that until you negotiate
The extinction of your aboriginal rights
You are, in fact, squatting on Provincial Crown Land
In clear contravention of the Criminal Code of Canada.

We are a just society
And are therefore unable to countenance
Such blatant law-breaking as this.

Yours sincerely,

John Christian

[This poem is an adaptation of a letter from Canada's former minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretian, to Walter Taylor, a supporter of human rights. It was adapted by Brian Mayne.]

JAMES BAY CONSTRUCTION GOES ON ALTHOUGH NATIVE CLAIMS AREN'T MET

Fort George, Quebec – Construction on the James Bay Hydroelectric Project, which will flood out 63,000 square miles of land at a cost which may go to $23-billion is "on target".

That's what project spokesmen say – words uttered as native people in the area deplore the continuation of work without an official, final agreement on native rights. Several communities which will be flooded out have not even entered into a preliminary agreement.

The project was announced four years ago this April, the largest financial undertaking in Quebec's history. The announcement had been made at a giant rally in the Quebec Coliseum by Premier Robert Bourassa. But for the people being flooded out, it is no carnival. Since the announcement was made, the estimates of final cost has doubled, meaning $6-billion has been added. The first turbine is expected to open in 1980.

"Have the decency to stop work on the project until a final agreement is signed with the Indians and Inuit of James Bay who are forced to negotiate with a knife in their backs," the James Bay Committee, a citizens' group, told Bourassa April 29. An agreement-in-principle was signed by some native spokesmen and the James Bay Corporation last autumn.

Critics of the project are never answered point for point. "James Bay is a Godsend for the population of Quebec and it's about time that the critics start working on some other subject," says E.A. Lemieux, general manager of finance and accounting for Hydro-Quebec. Either stop complaining or find another way to serve "Quebec's electrical needs," he says.

He was speaking in March at a meeting of the Canadian Electrical Association. Another speaker was Arthur Pettit, senior vice-president of Arkansas Power and Light Company, who said he rejected the philosophy of combatting the energy shortage by indiscriminately reducing consumption. Rather than reduce consumption, his area is planning to buy coal and slurry it with precious water all the way from Montana, where Indian lands are also being ruined by strip-mining.

For a long time, the Indians of Quebec Association (IQA) was successful in demanding a settlement to all native land claims in the province before the James Bay project could be put through. However, the government was successful in splitting off the Cree and Inuit, which signed the agreement-in-principle on their own.

Now Quebec has another target involving unsettled native land claims – uranium enrichment plants on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River near Sept-Isles. Montagnais people in the area have extensive land which Quebec has never negotiated for.

Energy director Real Boucher of Quebec's Energy, Mines & Resources Department – said in late March that the potential of North Shore rivers is 5500 megawatts. "The St. Lawrence River is a pot of gold," he chortled. "We need another James Bay in Quebec."

Already, the Canadian Government is trying to split off the Montagnais from the Indians of Quebec Association, apparently in a strategy to pick off Indian nations one by one. Peter Lesaux, deputy minister of Indian Affairs, has written to Montagnais chief Gaston MacKenzie of Schefferville, asking him to join negotiations in Montreal between the provincial and federal governments and the Cree and Inuit peoples.

Too, other peoples have been involved in the divide-and-conquer strategy. There wasn't all that much support for James Bay native people when the crunch was on them. But now there are outcries from white citizens near Mont Rigaud, 40 miles west of Montreal, because a 735,000-volt powerline will require a 500-foot-wide swath of land across Mont Rigaud, a beautiful area of maple trees and deer – and used for recreation and sport.

Like the native people of James Bay, the citizens of the Mont Rigaud area will not benefit from the "development". The line will bring James Bay power to New York State.

One Inuit village, Povungnituk, has completely withdrawn from the agreement-in-principle. Notice has been served on all government agencies that a power-of-attorney in the Inuit language drawn up for the Northern Quebec Inuit Association was no longer valid. They note that in the Northwest Territories right now, a court decision has ruled that Indians who had signed treaties in the 1920s had not fully realized that they were giving up title to their lands. "We feel that the same thing is being done to us Inuit now," the Povungnituk council says in a letter.

"A lot of things are going to have to change before we sign that final agreement," said Tania Quinuayuak (pronounced Finowuk), vice-president of the Povungnituk community. The village of 750 is 1,000 miles north of Montreal, and 450 miles south of the Arctic circle. "Povungnituk is the only Inuit community to realize what is really in that agreement," he said.

Charlie Watt of Fort Chimo, president of the Inuit Association of Quebec, says what the Inuit really want is their own regional government north of the 50th parallel right across Canada – an Inuit nation – but how much autonomy they can protect is still to be negotiated.

On paper, the deal made by Quebec looks good – $150-million in cash, hunting, fishing, and trapping rights "forever", a share in resources development, a measure of local government, and environmental protection.

But when you read the fine print, you realize that what the native people gave up is of far greater value, and that they are really being paid with their own resources.

Not only that, but the cash payment amounts to just $700 per person for each of ten years, and the potential of a similar amount for another ten years if the exploitation of resources is sufficient. Even on poor traplines, native people can make that much.

The Inuit get "exclusive rights" to 3,250 square miles around their villages, which works out to less than one square mile per Eskimo of land which takes that amount to support one moose. They give up an estimated 196,750 square miles of Inuit land above the 55th parallel.

Even in this "exclusive rights" area, the Quebec Government will keep the mineral rights. If a mine goes in, the Government will give the Inuit a quarter of the royalties. But Quebec has been so eager to get investments into the area, it has in the past not charged corporations more than token royalties.

The Povungnituk spokesmen say that they had been misinformed about the agreement-in-principle. "The agreement-in-principle was done while we slept – and we are not ashamed to admit it. We know the same thing happens all the time with white people," said councillor Tamusi Qumak.

Qumak said the agreement calls for his people to "cede, surrender, and convey all their claims, rights and titles and interests in and to land in Quebec, whatever they may be, by virtue of a final agreement. It is basically an application to us Inuit of the way in which the Indians have been dealt with in the past. We do not want to give up our rights to our lands," he said.

Qumak said the Inuit would have to abandon claim to the subsurface and mineral rights on all lands, and "we know that for the white people, the minerals are what count the most." He said "our ancestors struggled for 4,000 years so that we might exist – this land we cannot sell."

The people of Povungnituk are asking for letters of support and information to help them. Material can be sent to Eliyassie Salualluk, President, Povungnituk, New Quebec, via Montreal, Canada. or telephone (819) 988-2927.

A Lethal Game Of Dice .....

In his profound assment of the Vietnam War, Jean Paul Sartre used the expression "cultural genocide" to describe what was happening to the people of South Vietnam. He meant by this the whole range of U.S. actions, accidental and intended, military and civil, the consequences of which were the murder of the culture of an entire people.

While the Northern regions of this continent, including James Bay and the Arctic, bear little resemblance to Vietnam, geographically or politically, there is strong evidence that their development through the massive introduction of Western technology on land and in the ocean, will result in the same cultural genocide of the native peoples of these regions, with the same consequent ecocidal damage to the environment.

Development is a euphemism for rape. All this will be done in the name of progress and national security, the twin sacred cows of developed states.

Progress is part of the theology of our technological society and national security is the decisive catchword to justify anything these states require to fulfill their manifest destiny of growth and power. The rationalization of forcing our progress down the reluctant throats of people living in [other] cultures is our belief in the absolute value and historic necessity of our technological systems.

But this time, it may not be another idle goof against Nature, but could involve an environmental catastrophe of global significance. For the Arctic and Northern regions are supersensitive to even the smallest humanly-induced changes and these ecosystems have a global impact on climate and hydrological cycles.

We are playing dice with Nature, and the dice may be loaded against us.

We All Must Pay

And when we turn to the native peoples of these regions, we must ask ourselves what is the price of forcibly converting another culture to our own.

Remember that we are dealing with non-renewable resources – oil, gas and minerals – and when the rape is completed,the huge corporations will write off their production plants already paid for many times by profits.

They will also write off the people whose culture was murdered, but they may never be able to write off the environmental costs incurred by their actions. We shall all have to pay for this. We shall leave a people whose lives and culture have been permanently destroyed, inheriting not only the diseases communicated by micro-organisms, but equally dangerous, those we carry in our heads – alienation and avarice.

This is what we are offering the Indians and Eskimos – purchasing power and consumption addiction in exchange for identity. This is the true spirit of colonialism and colonizing in the 20th Century.

We had already committed genocide – cultural and physical – against the Indian tribes of the temperate and southern regions of this continent. This took over a century. It involved the greatest land grabs in history. Development wasn't the word then. It was civilization. But they are the same now. Now the speed of change has made us more efficient. We need only a generation or two for cultural genocide. Instead of trinkets for trade, we grant a few crumbs from the feast of development.

To fulfill her manifest destiny of growth, the U.S. needs [Northern] resources. She intends to get them as quickly as possible, with or without the complicity of Canada. The U.S. and Canada must develop a set of acceptable tactics to "develop" the North with impunity and they must do so quickly. They must hope for the sanction of the silent majority, and they must enlist the opinion of "experts" to defend these actions and neutralize their critics.

The Contradictions of Frontiers

Ignoring the economic, technical, and legal merits, the James Bay project reveals itself as a classic case of the contradictions of contemporary frontier development. Here we have a huge wilderness area occupied by native peoples whose culture and life styles are ecological and woven into the fabric of arelatively-untouched environment. But history has taught us that the price of economic development is the destruction of this culture. This has no economic measure. More recently, we have become aware that the price may be even larger when it includes the cost of environmental impacts.

James Bay may well be a violation of the legal rights of the resident native peoples, but it is also a larger miscarriage of fundamental human rights. Fundamental is the issue of basic human values, for the inevitable price will be the cultural genocide of the native peoples.

Furthermore, one cannot judge James Bay in isolation from the general question of the continental politics of energy. Energy teamed with technology is the ultimate measure of all power – economic, political, and military. The U.S., a population-rich but resources-poor country, faces an energy crisis which is also a political crisis. This accounts for the thrust of northern developments and the urgency of the great resource rip-off.

Last June, the United Nations met in a great conference on environment, proclaiming the principle of the heritage of Nature as the commons of humankind, to be held in trust for the future. James Bay is a clear violation of this principle.

James Bay is a significant part of the pattern of continental power. Together with the pipeline systems in Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta, and the Pan-Arctic, and the tar sands development, they form the neo-geopolitics of imperialism, euphemistically called "Nixon's Continental Energy Plan." The plan is now being realized without formal treaty. Canada as a whole is being relegated to the role of a new frontier colonial state.

The Canadian people will be to the U.S.A. what our native peoples are to Canada – economically dispossessed and culturally destroyed. This is all part of the Great Continental Sell-out. It is technological imperialism, part of the process of cultural homogenization and the global [Europeanization, U.S. style] of culture.

Thus there is a natural unity in the struggle of native peoples to defend their culture and the defense of the integrity of Canada.

[This essay is by Dr. F.H. Knelman, a member of the faculty of humanities of science, Sir George Williams University, and was first printed in the Montreal Star.]

Manitoba

IN MANITOBA, TOO, ILLEGAL FLOODING PLANNED FOR NATIVE LAND BASE

South Indian Lake, Manitoba — With the flooding of their lands only months away, native people here are using all possible peaceful channels to halt the move before turning to "reasonable force."

The Province of Manitoba, through the provincially-owned utility, Manitoba Hydro, will flood lands at Nelson House, Split Lake and Cross Lake as a result of the controversial Churchill River Diversion and the Lake Winnipeg Regulation Project.

So far, the province hasn't bothered with the formalities, perhaps hoping to pull a James-Bay type maneuver — just proceed until the project can't be stopped, stall off injunctions with lengthy legal action, and finally pay the Indians "compensation" which will be paid for by consumers.

There are only two ways the land can be gotten "legally" — one is for the native people involved to surrender the lands by approving a referendum on the subject, or for the Canadian Cabinet to expropriate the land. The first alternative has already been rejected by the native groups involved. The Province of Manitoba has already spent several hundred million dollars on the project and the pressure for expropriation is steadily mounting.

The lands which might be flooded were reserved by native people when Treaty Five was signed in 1971. At that time, Lieutenant Governor A.G. Archibald told them, "Your Great Mother will lay aside for you 'lots' of land to be used by you and your children forever. She will not allow the white man to intrude upon these lots. She will make rules to keep them for you, so that as long as the sun shall shine, there shall be no Indian who has not a place that he can call his home. . ."

Native leaders trying to force the province into negotiations are having trouble convincing the folks back home to be patient. Provincial authorities like Northern Affairs Minister Ron McBryde aren't anxious to sit at a conference table. The problems faced by the to-be-flooded communities are no different than other northern communities, McBryde says curtly, and there are already a number of government programs to deal with those common sort of problems. He said the province didn't anticipate serious difficulties in negotiating.

In fact, provincial premier Ed Schreyer says that in fact, getting flooded out might be a good thing. "Time may indicate that the total consequence of the project . . . may be beneficial rather than detrimental to the quality of life of our northern citizens," he said in January.

The province feels it is on solid legal grounds. On February 15, 1966, the province and the Government of Canada signed an agreement to commence the hydro-electric development program, which, it says, is its authority to proceed. As to "private interests" like the native villages, "the Manitoba Government has already indicated its willingness to compensate persons adversely affected," says environmental management minister Sidney Green.

The Nelson River "development program", he says, is like other programs taken by Canadians "in keeping pace with the material progress throughout the world." Green says Manitoba "feels it owes a responsibility to its citizens to proceed with intelligent development of our natural resources for the material benefit of our citizens." He compares the project with such things as the Trans-Canada Highway and the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Essentially, the project will change the course of Manitoba's most northern river, the Churchill, to provide additional water for hydro-generating stations along the Nelson. The last plug of earth between the two river systems is scheduled to be blasted out next November. For years now, critics have called the plan irrational, unnecessary, and destructive. In 1969, the NDP came into power, partly by challenging the wisdom of the Conservative Party about the project. But aside from changing its name and a few details, the project continues.

A 500-mile high-voltage transmission line from Kettle Rapids in northern Manitoba to Winnipeg was constructed ahead of the hydro projects — and then the fact that this money had already been spent was used as an argument to justify the project itself. But other economists point out that despite the money already invested in the high-voltage transmission line, Manitoba could save at least $100-million by not proceeding with the diversion, not to mention the resource benefits that would accrue from not flooding Indian Lake. That proposal says that Manitoba should simply buy power from Saskatchewan, and wait for technology to provide better answers than the diversion project.

"Tragically, the diversion would permanently destroy Manitoba's last great river before its values for recreation, habitation, wildlife, or wilderness are guaged," Professor Robert Newbury of the University of Manitoba says. "And all this for a power scheme that could be delayed for at least 20 years and perhaps forever."

Newbury wrote a 24-page report critical of the project, with retired provincial wildlife director G. W. Malaher as a co-author. Their report charges that Hydro is conducting an "intense advertising campaign" urging consumers to use more electrical power to justify the rapid expansion of power installations.

"Such advertising for self-gratifying growth should be made illegal," the authors say.

While the rivers and lakes of the area are beautiful now, the 300 miles of shoreline will be flooded at Southern Indian Lake when the levels are raised 10 feet at the upper end and 60 feet at the lower end of the reservoir. The effect of this procedure elsewhere has been to cause bank instability, floating debris, and shores lined with dead vegetation.

Dr. Douglas Pimlott of Toronto, who was then president of the Canadian Nature Federation, was critical of the project as an "environmental unknown" and said that the failure of the government to provide studies and meaningful public debate of such projects before making final decisions "is something we cannot understand."

The president of the Manitoba Naturalists Society, Dr. David Punter, was equally indignant. "We insist that any government is duty bound to undertake and publish an extensive study of possible damage to the environment and to all renewable resources before authorizing such far-reaching schemes," he said.

Punter said the people of Manitoba are largely unaware of the magnitude and the potential dangers of the scheme.

Another "James Bay Atrocity"

The Crees have been in the area for at least 7,000 years. They call the the river basin *Missinipi* or "strong water". The Churchill River dominates the wilderness area of lakes and forest and rock that comprises the northern two-thirds of Saskatchewan, spilling into Manitoba en route to the ocean. The water is the clear dark blue that characterizes water arising in the rocky basins of the Canadian Shield. Its shores are framed with huge flat-surfaced multicolored rock outcroppings, and behind the frame of rock are firs, spruce, jackpine, poplar and birch. The lakes are studded with tree-clad islands and hidden reefs; its main rapids are torrents of rushing and swirling white water that roars a half-mile away. The waters and area are home to moose, fish, deer, caribou, and many species of small game. It is said to be the best canoe country in North America.

And scattered along the shoreline are settlements of both Cree and Chipewyan people — self-reliant, resourceful folk who live by fishing and trapping and more recently, as guides for the newly-established sport-fishing camps.

If the projects go through, all this will be changed. The shores and river channels will be covered with floating and rotting timber and filled with underwater stumps and deadheads for at least the next century. Permafrost, in contact with the rising flood waters, will melt, leaving an unstable shoreline of waist-deep muck. The habitat of muskrat, mink, beaver, otter, bear, trout, ducks, geese and shorebirds will be disrupted or destroyed. The self-supporting communities will lose their livelihood — to destroy the environment is to destroy the Indians.

There have been no debates in the Legislative Assembly; there have been no public hearings; citizens and native people alike have been kept in ignorance as to the far-reaching implications of the project. The only purpose of this ecological and social devastation in the north is to have somewhat cheaper power bills in southern Manitoba, fattening the pockets of contractors, and temporarily providing "jobs".

"Your Great Mother will lay aside for you 'lots' of land to be used by you and your children forever. She will not allow the white man to intrude upon these lots. She will make rules to keep them for you, so that as long as the sun shall shine, there shall be no Indian who has not a place that he can call his home. . ."

— speech by Lt. Governor A.G. Archibald at the beginning of negotiations for Indian Treaty I concluded at Lower Fort Garry on August 3, 1871.

Sharp Opposition from Native Peoples

But for all the fancy talk of the experts in opposition to the project, the sharpest criticism comes from the native people in the area. In testimony before the Manitoba Environmental Council, Basil Colomb, a 63-year-old trapper, traced the history of his community, South Indian Lake.

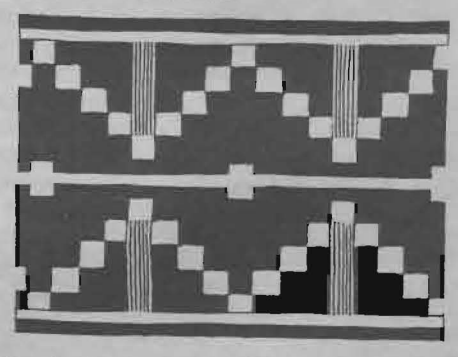
Residents, he said, "were forgotten people. We were not a reserve. We built our homes. We built our own church. We built our own school. And we paid our own preacher. We didn't get no houses from the government until maybe ten years ago. We make our living from the lake. We get three good meals a day out of that lake. We don't want no compensation. Leave us where we are."

His words are echoed by Bob Dysart, 71, also of South Indian Lake.

"We don't want your compensation — we only want our lake."

Chief Walter Monias of Cross Lake told Jean Chretien, former minister of Indian Affairs for Canada, that his people weren't opposed to progress, just reckless progress. "We are not opposed to development, but only through co-operative development can true progress be ensured," he said. "Progress has meant only hardship and poverty for our people."

Judd Buchanan, Canada's Minister of Indian Affairs, takes a cavalier attitude toward the problem. He made one of those whirlwind it-must-be-Saturday-this-is-the-Yukon type tours last Thanksgiving weekend, flying in with his wife and son and aides. He had already written to Nelson House people that his Department wouldn't allow any court action, saying he believed "the time was opportune for the parties to enter into direct negotiation." His Government, apparently, was going to sit back and let the northern natives duke it out for themselves.



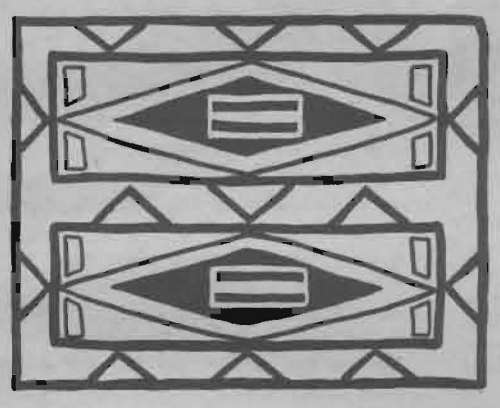
Meeting in the local church, representatives spoke of the bad roads and housing. Another wanted desks and chairs for the new school to replace the cardboard boxes currently in use. They spoke against a backdrop of missionary posters, "Help Haiti" and a deposit box: "Stamps to Help Lepers." Later, Buchanan drove through the mud to the new school where the kids had been waiting for him like royalty for two hours. He cut the magic ribbon, and after much speech-making, declared the school officially open.

While the media fussed over Quebec's James Bay Project, Manitoba quietly pushed ahead with its own gigantic hydro development which is at least half as large as James Bay. The last plug of earth between the Churchill River and the Nelson River is scheduled to be blasted out in October, 1975.

No one spoke of the unmentionable — the new school is standing on a reserve where the water will rise 30 or 36 feet when the control structures at Notigi are opened. That could happen in six months — and the Nelson House people were just told of this about a year ago. Until March, 1974, Hydro officials had assured the residents there would be "no effect" on their reserve.

When this was learned and the native groups started talking about court action to see just who was right and who was wrong, Premier Schreyer called the planned court case "confrontation tactics," and said it would harm "cooperation between the Northern Flood Committee and the province."

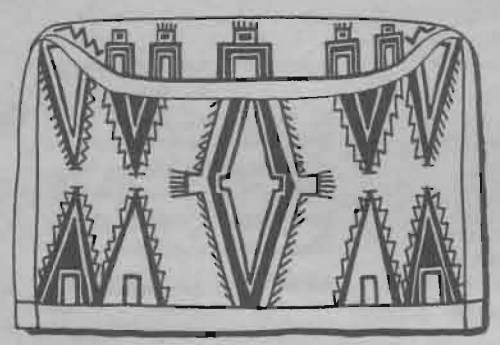
When Buchanan has been pressed by native communities who will be completely flooded out of areas they have lived for centuries, he says he is "sympathetic". "On the other hand, he quickly adds, you do have situations where the interests of the smaller group must be subordinated to the interests of the larger group." He gives as an example his very own home town of London, Ontario, where residents on the very street he lived had to give up the front 20 feet of their lots so that the street could be widened.



The reaction that Buchanan's neighbors had to losing their lawn isn't likely to have been the same as people like Eva Moose at South Indian Lake. Speaking at a meeting outside the community, she tries to talk about the hundreds of miles of the shoreline of the lake reduced to a backwater of dead trees and sagging mud. Words fail her, and tears are all that come. Eva Moose is not used to crying in public, but the loss of land, water, trees, and home is too much for her to handle.

Manitoba isn't likely to be impressed by tears, however. After all, hasn't Premier Schreyer said it was "impossible" to stop the project? "It's gone too far for that," he has said. However, there seems no need for the province's rush — Manitoba admits it won't need the power which the diversion will create until 1991, if then.

Expert observers believe that the power will be exported by way of uranium enrichment. Brinco Limited, a large multi-national energy corporation, has leaked information about 18 uranium-enrichment facilities in Canada which will use the power from rivers dammed up to flood the land of native peoples to enrich tidy packages of uranium which are then shipped to Britain or France to be released in atomic reactors producing power. Two of these are slated for James Bay, and at least one on the Nelson River at York Factory.



A group of Manitoba church officials with liberal attitudes have agreed to do their thing in regard to the dam. Jack McLachlan, a United Church minister, said the group would travel to Ottawa to discuss the "ethical implications" of the diversion project. They made it clear the group does not aim to stop the project, but hopes to draw enough attention to "ensure fair consideration for the native people."

[. . . which brings to mind George Bernard Shaw's definition of a liberal as a person who, if the government passed laws requiring the castration of radicals, would demand that they received a fair trial.]

Requests for further information and pledges of support can be sent to Northern Flood Committee, 505 — 228 Notre Dame Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 1N7.

(Thanks to Winnipeg Free Press, The Manitoban, Toronto Globe and Mail, Winnipeg Tribune, Ontario Native Experience, Prairie Dog Press, The Sheaf.)

(A tape entitled "South Indian Lake" is available from Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683 for $7.00 — with a 50% discount to individuals — in reel-to-reel or cassette format.)

CALGARY INDIAN LEADERS AWAIT TRIAL AND ACTION

Calgary, Alberta — On November 24, 1974, treaty Indians from Southern Alberta occupied the Calgary Indian Affairs Branch offices to protest inadequate services to treaty people living in Calgary. The usual normal channels had been exhausted when the sit-in was decided upon. Two weeks later, Ed Burnstick and Roy Littlechief, two leaders of the occupation, were arrested and charged on orders from Indian Affairs Minister Judd Buchanan.

The four demands of the occupation group have not been answered: clarification of rights of off-reserve Indians, removal of five civil servants in the Calgary Indian Affairs office, funding for the Calgary Urban Treaty Indian Alliance, and some alternative to social assistance (welfare).

After a series of adjournments, the trial is again ready to resume. The two men are charged with criminal mischief by the obstruction of lawful use of public property.

Burnstick, Canadian director of the American Indian Movement, warns that continuing Government insensitivity to Indian problems can only lead to violence in future confrontations. The problems native people are trying to draw attention to are still being ignored, and frustration of native people will cause an escalation of tactics. "We have laid down our arms to negotiate, but little or nothing has been done [since then] to solve the problem," Burnstick says. He added he was not saying AIM would do it, or that it would happen in Alberta "but I am saying it will happen."

"A lot of young people are frustrated over the games governments have been playing, and our people will make the government listen," he said. Burnstick emphasized AIM was not out to create violence and demonstrations. "To us, as with the gun, AIM should be not be used as an offensive weapon, but as a defensive one." He said "the strongest tool we have is the truth, and everytime we try to bring this out, we are surrounded by the RCMP. If someone gets shot, then maybe others will listen to the truth."

A report prepared this winter by concerned groups including the Calgary Mental Health Association and the University of Calgary School of Social Welfare has outlined specific examples of discrimination and shoddy practices in the Calgary Indian Affairs offices. The report notes that during the occupation, one senior staff member of Indian Affairs reacted by seeking RCMP protection for his family, personally moving to a hotel room, and hiring a guard dog. The report questions whether people who have such exaggerated fears of Indians should be trusted with authority over Indian lives.

The report goes on to say that officials of Indian Affairs have made no attempt to establish good relationships with the Indian people. In the office, Indians have to come to a reception counter and state their problems within hearing of the entire waiting room. At this point, the Indian is often told in loud authoritarian terms to go elsewhere.

The Indian Association of Alberta pledged support for the two men because they disagreed with Buchanan's statements "that occupations and sit-ins are not a legitimate way of expressing grievances." IAA president Harold Cardinal said that peaceful and non-violent demonstrations were legitimate, and he express concern that since only two of the 25 demonstrators were charged, that "groundwork is being laid to hold Indian leaders responsible for actions of other Indians."

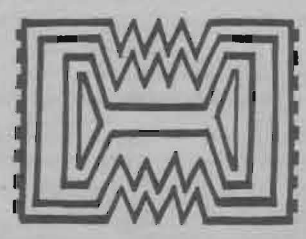
Calgary Mayor Rod Sykes had denounced the occupation group as "terrorists who didn't learn the lessons of the Riel Rebellion — that terrorism will not be tolerated in Canada." While Sykes didn't call for the group to be hung, he did want them forcibly ejected, but Calgary police retained their cool. When the occupation was over, total damage consisted of two broken chairs, one of which was repaired. Sykes said the group "had help from outside the country."

Buchanan is not sympathetic to the needs of urban Indians. "Once they move into the city, they become one of us," he said. "They are not eligible for rights provided for under the treaties." The cities, however, say Indians are "wards of the Federal Government" and refuse to provide services very frequently.

During the occupation, reporters called the demonstration group "professional" because the office was being kept spotlessly clean. The carpet was vacuumed frequently each day, and refuse from meals was kept in sanitary containers.

Editorially, *Kanai News*, an Alberta native newspaper, judged the sit-in protest "a success. How? It united the treaty people in the city more solidly than ever, gained the support of a number of non-Indian groups, including some faculties of the University of Calgary and the news media as well as the citizens at large. Last but not least, the help — or at least moral support — given by the city police has not gone unnoticed by the Indians, while on the other hand, the police were impressed by the way the latter conducted themselves. All this makes for a heartwarming situation."

This May, the Calgary DIA office's district superintendent, Mike Kartushyn, announced he wanted to move the office four miles away from its present downtown location. At the present time, the offices are located in the downtown area, where a good many Indian people life. Kartushyn has let it be known that employees are bothered by people "who want to borrow money all the time" and they want to get away from the skid-row hotels where many urban Indians live.



The group charged on May 16 that things in the Calgary DIA were even getting worse. They documented 13 instances of mistreatment by three social workers in the office. One man had to wait most of the day for an interview, and when he fell asleep, was refused assistance because he was "drunk". The committee demanded an inquiry by professional groups. It also noted that the plans made by the Calgary Urban Treaty Indian Alliance to help native peoples had been endorsed by the Canadian Mental Health Association, the Calgary Civil Liberties Association, the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, the Canadian Council on Socil Development, the Canadian Association of Social Workers, the Calgary Council of Women.

It has not yet been endorsed by Judd Buchanan.

[Thanks to Canadian Press and to The Native People, published by the Alberta Native Communications Society, 11427 Jasper Ave., Edmonton, Alberta, and to Kanai News, Box 58, Standoff, Alberta.]

ARTIFACT AUCTION DELAYED BY PROTEST OF "SPECTACLE OF PROFITS"

Montreal, Quebec — Riot-equipped city police were called to an auction of native artifacts at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel May 7, but 15 native protesters left after making their point and no arrests were made.

The native delegation came from Manitou Community College at LaMacaza, Quebec, and from the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga. The sale was of the Wilson Mellen family's collection, valued at about $60,000. It was conducted by Christie's of London, and was the largest such sale conducted in Canada. About 200 private collectors and museum officials came to bid.

"We're here to stop this sale, to stop all this wheeling and dealing in Indian artifacts," one of the protest group said. He claimed that many of the artifacts would be taken out of Canada. He noted that Canadian law would soon forbid precious works from leaving Canada without an export license, and he alleged that the sale was being held to avoid the impending legislation.

"There are also some religious items that are up for sale, and we object to this strongly." Most of the artifacts were acquired by two traders, Mackay & Dippie, who worked around Calgary and Banff in the late 19th century. It was added to until about 1930, when it was sold to Wilson Mellen.

Some customers laughed and others stared in stony silence when they were told to cancel the sale and "return the goods to their rightful owners." One well-dressed man from Toronto voiced objection, however, saying the protesters were "doing the Indians a lot of harm. They're interfering with the lawful sale of goods. I'm really against this sort of high-handedness."

After the sale had been delayed an hour, the auctioneer called a 30-minute break. Then, about 45 riot police who had been waiting for almost an hour moved into the hotel, dispersing the demonstrators without incident. The auctioneer thanked the riot squad "for coming here so promptly." About $45,000 in artifacts exchanged hands, the largest sale being a $3,400 headdress which went to the Museum of Man in Ottawa.

"We deplore this spectacle of profit-making at the expense of Canada's only original artistic heritage," a hand-out flyer read. "As a great cash flow is created among antiquarians, middlemen, and the collecting elite by the sale of native art, the question remains: how much of this is helping — or has ever helped — the creators of the heritage? At a time when native people are beginning to reclaim what was once useful and beautiful to them, it is appalling to see them scattered beyond all hope of return. We remember how these things left our hands when our people were desperate or facing destruction."

[Thanks to Bob Rowlands and the Montreal Star for this information.]

RESOURCES

TAPES

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50
60 minutes – $10.00
90 minutes – $11.00

THREE TAPES BY JACK FORBES

DEFEATING DIVIDE & CONQUER: People who've been through oppression have a lot of hangups that stand in the way of unity and brotherhood. Jack Forbes performs the painful task of reciting and analyzing the nature and source of some of these hangups, historically and currently. Forbes demands that people who speak for unity stop putting down their brothers and themselves. 90 minutes.

GOALS FOR NATIVE AMERICANS: "People who have a mission, a destiny, somehow find the food to eat" while working on their goals. Jack Forbes reviews the historical reasons which have limited the setting of goals by native American peoples during the past century and points to some of the key questions which need to be answered to develop long range goals today. His examples focus especially on the Chicano and other native peoples of Aztlan, the reunification of the Navajo Nation, the unique situation of the widespread Crees, and of the Inuit people whose lands go around the globe. 45 minutes.

WHERE HAVE ALL THE INDIANS GONE: mainly has to do with the categories which Europeans created to undermine the traditional native nations. Jack Forbes traces the history of this practice in order to understand its importance today. He shows that both North America and South America have full-blown caste systems for native people in order to destroy tribes and nations. He concludes that "we have to take control of the concept of Native American away from the white man" and shows several steps toward completing this cycle. He points to European, Asian, and African tribal people who have created states to protect and enhance their tribalness rather than allow conquerors to continue undermining it. He questions whether it is worth fighting for independence if we do not also fight for traditional values. 90 minutes.

SELF-DETERMINATION, COLONIALISM, AND CAPTIVE NATIONS: A talk by Dr. Jack Forbes. "How can we re-liberate without becoming one of the conquerers when we achieve it?" he asks. "When power alone determines what you can do, it is a disease that spreads." The history of the past five centuries is the history of conquest of democraticfolk societies by Mahivellian greed-based conquerors. But the conquest came after 4,000 years of resistance which continues today. 45 minutes.

GOD IS RED: A TALK BY VINE DELORIA, JR., Lakota philosopher and attorney, on the necessity of native religious values for the Indian movement and for the future of North America. 30 minutes.

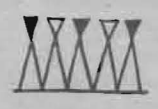
HARRY BELAFONTE tells an AIM rally in St. Paul that his freedom depends upon thyfreedom of the native peoples. A man who left his career as a singer to assist electoral politics explains how Wounded Knee changed his own perspective on America. 30 minutes.

STOKELY, AIM & YOU: Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC organizer and now with the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party headquartered in West Africa, came to give his support to the Wounded Knee defendants in St. Paul. Including speeches by Russell Means and William Kunstler. Stokely talks on the meaning of revolution, the relationship between the Third World and native peoples of North America. 60 minutes.

BUFFY STE. MARIE talks with Brunelda Wheeler and describes her childhood and her return to her community on the prairies. She stresses the importance of each person finding their own way in the native world. 15 minutes.

GLADYS BISSONETTE, LOU BEAN & GRACE BLACK ELK – Three Oglala women active in the occupation of Wounded Knee tell of reservation conditions and their struggle for human dignity. 45 minutes.

NATIVE PEOPLE'S CARAVAN & EMBASSY: It traces the origins of the Native People's Caravan which reached Ottawa on September 30, 1974, and culminated in the first use of Canada's RCMP riot squad as well as the founding of the Native People's Embassy. 30 minutes.



WILLIE DUNN (stereo). Produced by White Roots of Peace, with words, music, and songs by Willie Dunn, a Micmac/Metis folksinger, and a Grass Dance Song & Chief'S Song by Jerry Saddleback. Includes Ballad of Crowfoot from the film of the same name, and nine other songs. $5.

(a tape catalog is available on request listing many more titles available)

The Music of Our People

These recordings are available in LP-albums, cassettes, or 8-track cartridges. They are $6 each.

Indian House Records

ROUND DANCE SONGS OF TAOS PUEBLO – available in two volumes. Specify volume one or volume two.

TAOS ROUND DANCE – again in two vol. with the special intricate melodies Taos singers are famous for. Specify volume 1 or 2.

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SOUNDS OF INDIAN AMERICA – PLAINS AND SOUTHWEST – a variety of songs collected at the Gallup Ceremonials several years ago.

PUEBLO SONGS OF THE SOUTHWEST – a collection of many styles of songs from various pueblos.

We are now distributing Indian House recordings for resale in record stores, bookstores, or for fund-raising projects by native groups. There is a 40% discount, on orders of $100 or over.

MEDICINE HERBS

LICORICE

This is the helper that gives the penny-candy its flavor. Licorice is a root extract useful for coughs and chest complaints. It can be made into a tea for wheezing or shortness of breath, or pain in the chest and lungs, or dry cough or hoarseness. It is effective alone, but even better when combined with wild cherry, flaxseed, lemon, or sassafras. It is also said to have some laxative effect. It has been used to help speed delivery of the placenta after childbirth.

Researchers have also verified native findings that licorice derivatives are useful in treating gastric ulcers and skin conditions. The Blackfeet people steeped leaves and used the resulting liquid to treat earache. Many peoples ate the roots raw or roasted. Externally, it can be used as an ointment for eczema, or skin redness.

Licorice has a delicious taste used in gums and candies. The plant itself yields a substance known as glycyrrhiza, which is four times sweeter than cane sugar. Thus it is a great thirst quencher and can be drunk hot or cold, by itself or with other herbs. However, too much licorice can sicken the stomach and can even cause vomiting due to its relaxing character.

The best licorice tea is made from ground pieces of root. One teaspoonful of the dried root to a cup of boiling water can be taken daily as an herbal tea.

While we encourage people to do their own gathering of herbs, for those who find it impossible or who want to try a sample, we have it available for $1 for 2 ounces, post-paid.

VALERIAN ROOT

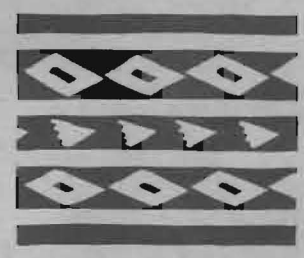
A full description of this relaxing tea was published in the Late Autumn, 1973, issue. It is available for $1.50 for 3 ounces with a leaflet describing its historical use by native peoples.

SASSAFRAS

It's great tea – 3 ounces for $1.

AMERICAN DOGWOOD

Native people use dogwood as a substitute for quinine, and some peoples have used it for diseases caused by weakness of the stomach and bowels. It is said to revitalize the tissues and speedily removes pain from diseased parts. We can send a 3-ounce pouch of cut bark, postpaid, for $1.



VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE

We expect our third printing of this excellent book back from the bindery July 15, and the many hundreds of orders which are waiting will be shipped immediately. Than you for your patient endurance regarding this book.

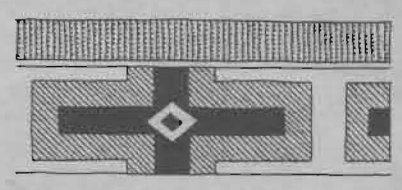
We know the copies won't last long. We'll go into a fourth printing immediately, but it won't be ready for months – so if you don't have your own copy of VOICES, order one now. It's $4.95, almost 300 pages, and several hundred photos.

And if there is a bookstore in your area that doesn't carry VOICES, tell them they're missing a good bet. Usual discounts are available.

This is what one magazine had to say about VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE:

. . . even after merely scanning the album-like wealth of photographs and captions, you will have a much greater understanding of what was going on out there in South Dakota. One thing you will understand better is the surging new spirit that carried this small group through the long siege by massively-equipped U.S. forces. This is a beautiful book. . . an excellent buy at $4.95.

– North Country Anvil



The Mayans in Momostenango raise sheep for three colors of wool, which they hand-process. On large looms, they weave their blankets, utilizing Mayan design usually consisting of animal, bird, flower, and sometimes human figures, denoting the number and letter characters of the Mayan alphabet. Often the sacred Quetzal bird is used in the design.

When the wool blankets are woven, they are taken to the hot springs and washed. As the wool begins to shrink, rocks are placed on the stretched blanket to tighten the weave. After the blanket is dry, the women gather large thistle-heads which are fastened together into a comb and the blankets are then carefully combed and fluffed. The result is a uniform well-made blanket, or heavy wool cloth for overcoats, mukluk liners, and similar uses. These blankets are great gifts, too.

AKWESASNE NOTES has arranged to bring a number of these blankets north. They are $35 postpaid, and they can be returned if they are not just what the purchaser wants. The quantities are limited on these hand-made blankets, and delivery at this point takes four months – but they're well worth the wait. Comparable U.S. machine-made blankets are more expensive. We have some ourselves – it's nice to sleep under a Mayan-made blanket from Momostenango.

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

Bell & Howell Co., Underground Press Package, Microphoto Division, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691

Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd. Route 100, Milwood, N.Y. 10546

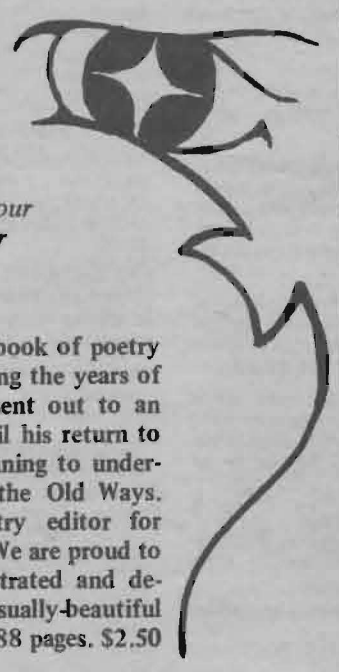
University Microfilms Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America 21 Harristown Road, Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE NOTES

. . . ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies. . . leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, workplace, tribal office. . . sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment and you send us 35 cents for each copy sold – or order a packet of 6 for $2 prepaid or 20 for $5 prepaid. GET THE WORD OUT.

OUR-OWN-PUBLICATIONS



I am an artist

I paint pictures of love
upon the fallen leaves . . .
words brimming with colour
are left on mushrooms for
travellers of the wood
to read . . .

NATIVE COLOURS, a book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Karoniaktatie was poetry editor for AKWESASNE NOTES. We are proud to publish this book, illustrated and designed by the poet – a visually-beautiful & colorful presentation. 88 pages. $2.50 postpaid.

Available at discount in quantities.

Posters Available From AKWESASNE NOTES

22 *Campesinos* 23 *Wintu Woman (this issue)*

1 *South America*

2 *Chief Joseph*

3 *Wounded Knee*

4 *Longhouse to Kiva*

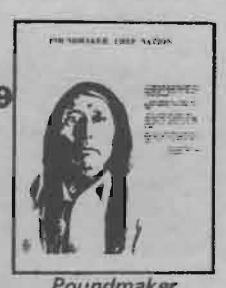
5 *Zuni Governor*

6 *Sitting Bull*

7 *Three Sisters*

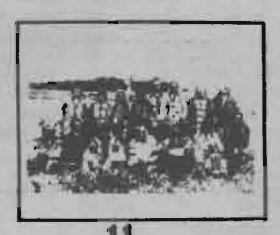
8 *Grandma Hunter*

9 *Poundmaker*



10 *Shackled Native*

11 *Family Portrait*



12 *Three Horsemen*

13 *Fire Carrier*

14 *La Raza*

15 *Dan Katchongva*

16 *Our Ideas*

17 *Statue of Liberty*

Signs of the Times

18

19 *Flathead Chief*

20 *Rush-Gatherer*

21 *Bear-Belly*

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. We reserve the right to substitute when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows – 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for $25.
Order from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PAPER

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs $5,000 and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc. will add almost $2,000 more – and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive. We are not funded by foundations, government, or universities.

Our money comes mostly in small donations from readers. Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If youwant to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

Some of Our Publications

A Hard Look at American Catholic Folklore: A pamphlet with two articles by Richard Lundstrom, "Mohawks, Martyrs and Myths," and "For If the Indian Peoples Die, Who Among Us Deserve to Live?" Just 25 cents for a copy of these reprints from NOTES. Church groups are buying them by the hundreds for lively discussion at 40% discount, for any large quantity.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Any More – *$1.95*
the story of the Trail of Broken Treaties group which occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington D.C. in 1972. The book also contains the Twenty Point position paper presented to the White House which would revolutionize Indian/U.S. relationships – plus the White House reply, and a rebuttal to the White House. This dialogue will be heard throughout the 1970s, and needs to be understood – and acted upon – by every American and every native person. 8½ x 11, 96 pp., paperback.

Declaration of Barbados:
This pamphlet should be discussed thoroughly by all students of anthropology – college and campus bookstores should let the anthro department know it is in your stock. Church officials – and all concerned people – will find it of interest too. It discusses the role of non-native scholars and missionaries with the native people. 25 cents.

A Message to All People: The Hopi Prophecy:
A spiritual message as old and timeless as the land. Illustrated. A warning – with hope – of interest to all human beings. $1.00.

CALENDAR

1975 CALENDARS ARE STILL AVAILABLE – the poster portion alone is worth the price, covering various ideals of the Old Ways with a quotation and beautiful drawing for each, one for each month. The calendar is large, 17 x 22, and they will not be reprinted. Available immediately at $3 postpaid in a cardboard mailing tube.

INDIGENA PAMPHLET SERIES

INDIGENA people cooperate with AKWESASNE NOTES in the publication of pamphlets on the native peoples of the Americas. Besides that, INDIGENA has a publication of their own available from POBox 4073, Berkeley, California.

From NOTES, the following three pamphlets are available for 25 cents each (quantity discounts available):

THE SITUATION OF INDIAN PEOPLES IN GUATEMALA: reprinted in this issue. A new pamphlet. A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by those who have taken on another way and foreign interests.

THE INDIAN SITUATION IN BRAZIL TODAY: Outlines the nature of the genocidal war being waged against native people of the Amazon. Destruction of communities is documented. Reprinted from Journal do Brazil.

THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN COLOMBIA: a strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s, and like the others in this series, illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry, legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto of the women.

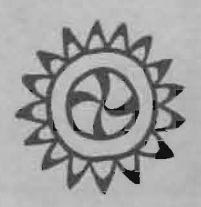
SIX NATIONS MUSEUM PAMPHLET SERIES

THE MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS: Pictographic writing, and text in English with some handsome drawings of Iroquois life, detailing a chapter of North American history – how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. 50 cents.

WAMPUM BELTS: photographs of reproductions of the Iroquois wampum belts, with a text explaining the meanings read in each. An interesting way to learn native history. $1.50.

COSTUME OF THE IROQUOIS: this illustrated book describes in detail how to make the clothing which is traditional with the Iroquois people. $1.50.

VISIT SIX NATIONS MUSEUM
AT ONCHIOTA, NEW YORK
(near Saranac Lake)



THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE

This is the Iroquois Constitution, giving the law that tells the way that has been followed in Iroquois councils for a thousand years now. It was this government that gave many ideas to the Founding Fathers of the U.S. in drawing up the U.S. Constitution.

This translation into English is illustrated by Kahoronhes. 84 pages, $1.00.

RESOURCES

BOOKS

We are grateful to all our readers who have waited so patiently for their books, posters, and tapes. Backlogs which grew while we were getting VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE 1973 and the 1975 calendars out are largely cleared now, and the remainder should be sent out by the end of this month.

— Snowbird

THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY

THE TUSCARORAS, by Shirley Hill Witt. A slim volume of the forced migration of a nation from North Carolina to Iroquois country. Legends, tribal history, clans & chiefs. Hardcover only, $4.95.

THE IROQUOIS by Frank Speck. 95 p., paper, $2.00. Nice photograph of Iroquois crafts and a survey of the culture.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS: Collected Work of Arthur C. Parker, edited by Wm. Fenton. 296 p., hardcover only, $8.95. Contains Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants; The Code of Handsome Lake; The Constitution of the Five Nations. A valuable reference work.

IROQUOIS CEREMONIAL OF MIDWINTER by Elizabeth Tooker. 179 p., hardcover, $7.50 Although the author approaches the ceremony as if writing a cook-book, there is valuable information around which readers can instill the proper spirit.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Barbara Graymount. 296 p., hardcover, $11.50. Although from a non-Indian perspective, a useful scholarly work.

DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA NATION by Anthony F.C. Wallace, 337 p., paper, $2.45. About the renaissance of a people — a clear, deep historical book about religious and cultural Iroquois life.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan. 461 p., paper, $3.95. Over a century ago, Morgan wrote this classic account with much useful information.

HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS by Cadwallader Colden (1727). 181 p., paper, $2.45. Fascinating but difficult reading by a colonial scholar discussing religion, manners, customs, laws and forms of government of the Iroquois some two centuries ago.

APOLOGIES TO THE IROQUOIS by Edmund Wilson. $1.95, paper, 300 p. A white writer's New Yorkerish impressions of Longhouse people he contacted in the 1950s, showing the roots of current thought and activism.

. . . and of course SEE THE PUBLICATIONS OF AKWESASNE NOTES FOR ADDITIONAL IROQUOIS MATERIALS.

LEGAL MATTERS

TAXING THOSE THEY FOUND HERE: An Examination of the Tax-Exempt Status of the American Indian by Jay Vincent White. $6.00 hardcover.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS MADE BY INDIAN TRIBES WITH THE UNITED STATES. For researchers, a handy reference. 30 pages, $3.00

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WITH INDIAN NATIONS. $67.50. Compiled by Kappler, this book is useful for attorneys and libraries. Every broken treaty listed here.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS (from the above book) $5.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE GREAT LAKES REGION (from the above book) $5.

HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW by Felix S. Cohen. The unexpurgated 1939 edition. A heavy reference volume for libraries, tribal councils, attorneys. $25.00.

ONE HUNDRED MILLION ACRES by Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux with a foreward by Vine Deloria, Jr. An accurate account of Indian lands and Indian rights — a microcosm of what is happening to the whole American society. $6.95 hardcover only.

THREE TALES AND THREE ACCOUNTS FROM THE INUIT OF THE NORTH

TALES FROM THE IGLOO, edited and translated by Maurice Metayer, illustrated by Agnes Nanogak. A beautiful book of legends answering the mysteries of the northern world. $4.95 hardcover. Good children's book, too.

BOOK OF THE ESKIMOS by Peter Freuchen, an explorer whose own philosophy salts that of his hosts. An earthy jolly book of a people and a man. $1.50.

THE NETSILIK ESKIMO by Asen Balikci. An anthropological view of the People of the Seal. $3.95.

HARPOON OF THE HUNTER by Markoosie. A first Inuit novel of the struggle for manhood and survival. 81 pages, hardcover only. $4.95. Good for younger readers, too.

I NUGLIAK, edited and translated by Maurice Metayer. A Canadian Eskimo records the contentment and struggle of his life-style. 184 p., $1.25.

POETRY, NARRATIVE, LEGENDS

AN AMERICAN INDIAN ANTHOLOGY compiled by Benet Tvedten. Remembrance of the old ways, present day realities and future hopes are described in short stories and poetry. $2.00.

COME TO POWER edited by Dick Lourie. Some good new contemporary native poets, with a knowledgeable introduction by Joseph Bruchac. $3.95, paperback.

FROM THE BELLY OF THE SHARK, edited by Walter Lowenfels. Poems by Chicanos, Eskimos, Hawaiians, Indians, Puerto Ricans and related poems by others. 350 p., $1.95.

THE MAGIC WORLD, edited by William Brandon. Imaginative translations, with an excellent introduction on the nature of native poetry. Highly recommended. $2.95.

MAKAH: Indian Whale Hunters, by John McReavy. A whale hunt of the Northwest Makah written in poetic narrative style. $2.95.

SHAKING THE PUMPKIN, edited by Jerome Rothenberg. A great range of traditional American poetry. A good place to begin to find the spirit of a people. 474 p., $4.95.

STORY-TELLING STONE, edited by Susan Feldman. Stories about men, animals, gods, love, hate, jealousy, trickery and magic. 95 cents.

SWEETGRASS: A Modern Anthology of Indian Poetry by Orville, Wayne, and Ronald Keon. A unique volume by a family of poets. Uneven, but with some strong pieces. 156 p., illustrated, $2.50.

THE TRICKSTER, recorded by Paul Radin. The uninhibited raucous episodes of the Winnebago Trickster cycle. Analyses by Radin, Kerenyi and Jung. $2.95. Good adult bedtime tales — with plenty of meaning.

VOICES FROM WAHKON-TAH: Contemporary Poetry of Native Americans. Edited by Robert Dodge & Joseph McCullough with a foreward by Vine Deloria, Jr. Contains the work of some new poets: Ray YoungBear, Donna WhiteWing, Marnie Walsh, Bruce Severy and others. 144 p., $2.75.

WHEN CLAY SINGS by Byrd Baylor, illustrated by Tom Bahti. An excellent gift book singing poetically of the natural way of life expressed in pottery. Great meaning for kids. Hardcover only, $4.95.

WHISPERING WIND: Poetry by Young American Indians. Edited by Terry Allen. Featuring work by such poets as Phil George, Agnes Pratt, Calvin O'John and other students of the Institute of American Indian Art. 124 p., $1.95.

THE WINGED SERPENT: An Anthology of American Indian Prose and Poetry, edited with an introduction by Margot Astrov. A good survey of traditional poetry, not too imaginatively presented. 300 p., 95 cents.

NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES OF THE PEOPLE

CHEYENNE AUTUMN by Mari Sandoz. It was September, 1878. The Cheyennes numbered 278, the soldiers numbered 10,000. This book is a tribute to their 1,500-mile trek. $1.25.

FIG TREE JOHN by Edwin Corle. An embittered Apache's struggle to raise an Apache son in the face of "civilization." Although Corle takes extreme literary license in converting a real-life California native man into a novel of an Apache, it is a tense and exciting character study. $2.45.

I HEARD THE OWL CALL MY NAME by Margaret Craven. About a young priest with two years to live, and the Kwakiutl People who teach him much about life. The recent TV dramatization is from this book. Hardcover only, $4.95.

LAUGHING BOY by Oliver LaFarge. A classic rendering of Indian life, poetically and hauntingly told. A Pulitzer Prize novel of two decades ago. $2.45.

THE MAN TO SEND RAIN CLOUDS edited by Kenneth Rosen. Eighteen short stories by native writers sounding insistent drums of tradition. Great reading. Hardcover only, $6.95.

THE MAN WHO KILLED THE DEER by Frank Waters. A novel of pueblo life and the conflict in a man who comes back home to live. Written with poetic beauty. $3.50.

N'TSUK, a novel by Yves Theriault, translated by Gwendolyn Moore. A fictionalized autobiography of a Montagnais woman, who compares her life with urban people. $2.25

ASHINI, also by Yves Theriault. The fictionalized autobiography of a Montagnais hunter, concerning his relations with nature, his own people, and the Western world. $2.50.

RABBIT BOSS by Thomas Sanchez. An impassioned chronicle spanning a century in the life and death of the Washoes. 530 p., paper, $1.95; $7.95 hardcover.

SEVEN ARROWS by Hyemeyohsts Storm. A controversial novel of the Cheyenne which has provoked both great affection and strong disgust. There has been a long, long delay for this title, but it will soon be available at $4.95 paperback.

SOUL CATCHER by Frank Herbert. Another youth, caught between two worlds, decides upon retribution for his people in a spell-binding novel you won't put down. $1.25.

STAY AWAY JOE by Dan Cushman. Good humor about a fast-dealing free-wheeling fork-tongued "hero" of the new west. Caught between two worlds, this guy chooses to be mod. $1.95.

WHEN THE LEGENDS DIE by Hal Borland. The book is better than the movie. A young native boy, torn between two worlds, finds his ancestral ways, alone. 95 cents.

SPIRITUAL VALUES: THE WAY

THE GOSPEL OF THE REDMAN, compiled by Ernest Thompson Seton. A collection of materials on a way of life. A dated perspective, but useful for beginners. $1.95.

THE SPIRIT AT HIDDEN VALLEY: A Good Medicine Story told by Adolf Hungry Wolf. A visit to a place high in the Rockies and the happiness found in recovering the natural ways. An allegory. $3.50.

THE SPIRITUAL LEGACY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Joseph Epes Brown. Native theology in an attractive pamphlet. 70 cents.

THE WORLD'S RIM: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians by Hartley Burr Alexander. Native philosophy. $1.95.

THE BLUE CLOUD ABBEY SERIES

A Benedictine abbey in South Dakota puts out some of the nicest pamphlets suitable for pleasant reading at home or in schools. Each is beautifully designed, about 12 pages in length. They are 25 cents each, or six (our choice) for $1.25.

A STORY FROM CHARLIE as told to Sister Susan. In calligraphy, from Turtle Mountain.

THE CREATOR HAS MADE THE WORLD — COME AND SEE IT. A collection of short essays and prayers.

BUFFY SAINTE-MARIE — songs and photos of the Indian situation, from the old Buffy.

SMALL EYES' LAST HUNT: a fine short story to read to grandchildren — or to grandparents.

GERONIMO: a graphic poem

PERSONAL POEMS TO AMERICAN INDIANS — poetry by ten authors.

THE CALIFORNIA PEOPLES

NATIVE AMERICANS OF CALIFORNIA & NEVADA: A Handbook by Jack D. Forbes. 197 p. Includes discussion on basic concepts for understanding native history. $3.95.

THE POMO INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA AND THEIR NEIGHBORS by Vinson Brown & Douglas Andrews with full color map and many illustrations. 63 p., $2.50.

THE CALIFORNIA INDIANS: A Source Book, compiled and edited by R.F. Heizer & M.A. Whipple. 600 p., $5.95.

ISHI IN TWO WORLDS: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America by Theodora Kroeber. Don't know where she gets that "last wild Indian bit," but this is the story of the lone survivor of the Yahi People. $2.45.

THE MOJAVE OF THE COLORADO: Pages of History. An illustrated pamphlet, 24 pages, 50 cents.

ALMOST ANCESTORS: The First Californians, by Theodora Kroeber & Robert Heizer. A large format book of beautiful photographs, quotations, and a supportive text. 167 p., $3.95.

THE WORK OF THE HANDS

AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN & DECORATION by Leroy Appleton. 700 illustrations from the western hemisphere, plus some legends and cultural information. 265 p., large paperback format. $4.00.

A COLORING BOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS, for older children and adults. 50 p., $1.50.

CRAFT MANUAL OF YUKON TLINGIT. Everything from hide boats to dolls. 56 pages, $1.95.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVEN by Bill Holm. The catalog of the Signey Gerber Collection of Northwest Coast Indian Art in the Burke Washington State Museum. Photographs, 93 p., $4.95.

DECORATIVE ART OF THE SOUTHWEST INDIANS by Dorothy Smith Sides. 295 illustrations. Pueblo pottery, Hopi kachina decorations, Zuni mask motifs, Navaho blankets, Apache baskets, Mohave beadwork. 101 p., $1.50.

DESIGNS FROM ANCIENT MEXICO by Jorge Encisco. A display of native decorative ingenuity. 153 p., $2.50.

DESIGNS FROM PRE-COLUMBIAN MEXICO by Jorge Encisco. A treasury of 300 unique designs found on malacates. 105 p., $1.50.

INDIAN BASKET WEAVING: The Navajo School of Indian Basketry. Explains methods of coiled weaving, getting into basic techniques. 104 p. $1.75.

INDIAN BLANKETS & THEIR MAKERS by George James. Owner's manual or wish book, with excellent photographs. $5.00.

INDIAN LEGENDS LIVE IN PUPPETRY: A Creative Manual by Vera Leeper. How to portray the old stories to encourage creative spirits. A nice book for teachers and others. 160 p., $2.50.

INDIAN MASKS & MYTHS OF THE WEST by Joseph Wherry. Ancient masks which make the Universe tolerable in a cynical age. An effort to recall ancient faith and prayer. Hardcover only, $5.00.

INDIAN SIGN LANGUAGE by William Tomkins. 290 pictographs of Sioux and Ojibwa, and 525 signs for non-verbal communication. Paperback, $1.25.

THE INDIANS' BOOK recorded and edited by Natalie Curtis. A standard work in ethnomusicology with 149 songs in full notation, with other material on native cultures. 585 p., $5.00.

MEDIEVAL AMERICAN ART by Pal Keleman. In two volumes, each of about 400 pages, with extensive photos. Volume I has an introduction with sections on architecture, sculpture, and pottery. Volume II covers weaving, metal work, jade and other semi-precious stones, murals and manuscripts and miscellaneous applied arts. It also has chapters on daily life and evolution of art form. Each volume is $4.50.

MONUMENTS IN CEDAR: The Authentic Story of the Totem Pole by Edward Keithahn. Originally published at $12.50, but now $3.95 hardcover. 150 photos. A pictorial account of the history and meanings of potlatch and mortuary poles, house posts, ceremonial bowls, masks of the native people of the Pacific Northwest.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS. A small beautiful book of arts and crafts with many illustrations. $1.95.

PICTURE WRITING OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS by Garrick Mallery. A reprint of an 1889 Bureau of American Ethnology report. About 1300 illustrations and 54 plates. Itwo volumes, each $5.00.

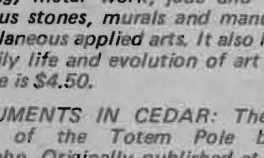
PRIMATIVE ART by Franz Boas. The definitive analysis of fundamental traits of primary people's art, including a 115-page study of the art of the North Pacific Coast. More than 320 photos and diagrams. $3.00.

PUEBLO DESIGNS by H.P. Mera. An analysis of a well-known and frequently-used design, "the Rainbird". 176 illustrations, 113 pages, $2.50.

PUEBLO POTTER: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art. 160 pages, 38 color plates and hundreds of two-color illustrations. How the personal element is expressed in a time-honored structure of symbolism. $3.00.

TSIMSHIAN INDIANS & THEIR ARTS by Viola Garfield and Paul Wingert. A study of a creative culture and the role of art in life. 91 pages, illustrated. $2.95.

WOLF & THE RAVEN: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska by Viola Garfield and Linn Forest. 67 photos and the legends to go with each pole. Where literature and art combine. $3.95.



BOOKS IN QUANTITY?

Multiple copies of any title sold by NOTES are available at discounts of 20% for books from other publishers, and 40% for our own publications. It's a chance for classrooms, church study groups, or others wanting to use a book or pamphlet — or for individuals and bookstores who want to resell books to their customers.

Also, an INDIAN BOOKSHELF of a variety of titles for resale in bookstores, health-food outlets, trading posts, or at special events is available. A sampler of $125-worth of books at retail prices is available for $100. Any unsold copies can be returned.

LETTERS

Hibernation Is Over

NOTES: You help us all to think about our cousins all over the world who go through the same things we do here. Your good stories help us see we are not alone. The hard things our relatives went through when they went on that caravan to Ottawa really tells us that Chile is right here on our own doorsteps.

I'll tell you, for a long time, the people in British Columbia have been sleeping and waiting like a bear in the winter. But we are waking up. We are breathing in the spring air. And we are getting ready. The next winter will be long and hard, but we are preparing.

Don't think you don't matter out here on the West Coast — we are learning the importance of an "organizing paper".

Maxine Thomas
Vancouver, B.C.

Sending It All Back

PEOPLE: In the museum in Barre, Massachusetts, there are a lot of artifacts, including a Ghost Dance shirt, collected after the Wounded Knee massacre. Many of these are labelled with derogatory wording. We would like to know if any recognition or compensation has been made to the Sioux for these articles? We're concerned about the situation because it seems to be a continuation of the oppression of the Indian people by our people. Please inform us of what we can possibly do to correct the injustice.

Joe Hill Brigade
c/o Richard Hennessy
Main St.
Cherry Valley, Massachusetts 01611

An Appeal from McAlester

NOTES: We, the Indian prisoners of Oklahoma State Prison, are sensitive about our cultural heritage and desirous of retaining our human dignity. Yet, for the past seven months, we have been brutalized and subjected to cruel degradations by the McAlester prison administration, led by an ex-military lieutenant colonel, Richard A. Crisp.

For refusing a military-style haircut, our Indian brothers have been and are subjected to vicious beatings, gassings, and are then symbolically "scalped" by their sadistic keepers.

Hairstyle is important to each of us in our effort to maintain some part of our cultural identity and personal self-respect. As prisoners, we have lost practically everything else.

Brothers and sisters, we need your help NOW! Help an Indian prisoner avoid a concussion, a broken nose, blindness from being shot in the eyes with a 12-guage shotgun, or lacerations over Crisp's castration of Indian hair. Please write a letter, send a telegram, or telephone to:

Hon. Governor David Boren
State Capitol Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

Public opinion is made by you. Save our Indian dignity.

Alan James Little Raven
Mark Moore 88542
Mario Sam 83925
Robert Goodoy 85704
Nick Worcester 88397
William Webster 83053
Lance Yellowhand 88338
Jesse James 86189
Danny Craper 74563
Richard C. Porter 85391
Box 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

Support Given to All Life

NOTES: I would like to inform you that in the event that I should never have children, I have made out a life insurance policy of which AKWESASNE NOTES is to be the beneficiary upon my death.

Yours is basically the most positive effort that all of us — plants, animals, men, earth — have going for us. Please keep on. We all need you.

Claire L. Riser de Rivera
Puerto Rico

[Other childless readers may consider this alternative use of their estate rather than fattening the coffers of the governments. The editors.]

Mending the Sacred Hoop

NOTES: I am of the Wind. My medicine is of the heart. The Spirit sends my love to the Four Great Directions and to the Sky above us all and the Earth below us all. May our Sacred Hoop be the wheel that turns the future. Peace.

Richard Four Skies
Thunder Bay, Ontario

Brazil: What Do We Do?

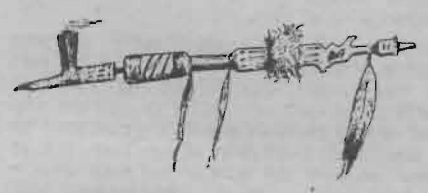
NOTES: Your Early Spring issue was quite informative, especially the tour and report by NOTES staff pertaining to native Americans in Guatemala. Be that as it may, I should think that there are many more pressing events in place of, what I thought to be, a sight-seeing tour. Events I am referring to are those described in INDIGENA, and in NOTES, as regards the horrendous genocide of native Americans of Brazil by large North and South American corporations who are being assisted by the Brazilian Government. I was under the impression, according to NOTES winter issue, that a committee of North and South American native peoples were to form groups in the very near future in order to abort the aforesaid despicable acts of greed and murder; the ever-present nebulous word "progress" is still being employed as an excuse by the corporations.

Mark Grund
Brookline, Massachusetts

Vietnamese Are Our Relatives

NOTES: As an American Indian, I feel sympathetic toward the Vietnamese war orphans. I truly wish there was something beneficial we could do to help and support them. I believe the Vietnamese are our world relatives. How very much a Vietnamese child looks [like] one of our own.

I am not a racist nor prejudiced against whites. But all the finest and wealthy homes can never be a substitute for mom's loving care and dad's ever protective hand. I think in reality, in the long run, the white parents and this country will succeed to cause them a great deal more harm and personal injury.



I would rather see them grow up in Vietnamese families. They are not objects of 'property' and possessions to put on display. Would it not be much better for them if they grew up as Vietnamese and not Americans?

I know from experience the psychological trauma of being torn away from family and home. The Redman has not yet found equality in his own homeland — can the defenseless orphans fare much better in this society? Adoption will serve to pervert the tie between them and their own country and people.

Alexis W. Wolf
Lincoln, Nebraska

The Haida Nation Speaks

PEOPLE: Your paper is one that gives a good picture of what's going on with a lot of people throughout our continent.

Our people have recently organized to pursue the slippery issue of Land Claims. Our organization is the Council of the Haida Nation, with Godfrey Kelly, president. Our Nation now consists of three remaining villages, one of which is isolated from us by the Alaska/British Columbia border. That only three villages remain is the result of disease and governmental bureaucracy. It is common knowledge that smallpox and other European diseases left only a small population of about 400-500 people of an estimated eight or nine thousand at the time of white contact.

The types of repression that our people have been subjected to in the past are now in the stages of being corrected by our people. The Skidegate and Masset Band Councils in conjunction with the B.C. Association of Non-Status Indians locals are in the process of reviving our culture through various means of education.

The Massett Band Council's Museum and Cultural Committee has designed a contract [which binds anthropologists and others doing research]. We have had a few encounters with anthropologists who will not enter into this contract with us. The cry of the anthropologist is "academic freedom" but never has this freedom been reciprocated. Our civilization could now very well have been contained in countless numbers of files, books, and display cases throughout America and Europe had not our people been alert and the revival become a reality. So we are in pace with a hundred other tribes in telling the non-Indian imposers that we are a reality and not a picturesque romanticized speck of the history of North America.

Incidentally, the design of your issue of Early Winter, 1975, on page 41, is taken from a carving by one of our foremost artists, Tom Price of Skidegate.

Yours in Coast-to-Coast Brotherhood,

Ernie C. Collison
Council of the Haida Nation
POBox 163
via Masset, Queen Charlotte Islands
V0T 1M0

The Lessons We Can Learn

NOTES: I have become increasingly concerned by the number of letters that question the validity of NOTES and propose that there is a grave militantism and racism present in your articles and values.

I do not believe that the individuals who comprise the editorship of NOTES are condemning or holding all "whites" accountable for the injustices perpetrated upon the native peoples. The white race is just as multi-faceted as any other, and being born of white skin is no indication of the values of the individual. The term "white" is just as ambiguous and as specific as the term "black", "indian", "chicano", or "oriental". There are many articles that speak out against the "white culture", the "white" invaders, but the "white" that is being argued with or fought against is the entity of imperialism, bureaucracy, oppression, exploitation, ingenuousness, and egotistic capitalism. It is not necessarily the person sitting next to you — or you — it is any human being, or system of government, that imprisons the spirit, heart, mind, and body of any other human being or collectivity. The efforts of the "native people" are and should be similar to the efforts of all persons who are eager to re-establish a viable political and social structure which allows for some personal dignity, independence, and integrity, as well as for some communal cooperativeness, equality, and pride. If it is necessary for an individual or group to shout or fight for these ends — then it is our lives they are struggling to preserve and enhance as well.

I live in New York City — far from the potato patches, corn fields, cold winters, and frustrations of the Mohawk Nation or any other native peoples — yet it is possible for me to translate their concerns into my circumstance as a white, working-class woman. Certainly, I read NOTES to get news and information of individuals and tribal efforts — but if this were the only content or harvest of my reading, it would be merely a novelty for my life and a vanity in my mind. I read NOTES because there are other issues being confronted in the work of the native people — those issues being what I previously cited.

One thing that is most necessary in this fractured world is a meeting place for dialogue and communication — NOTES offers this, and I am grateful.

To those readers who have balked at wordings or opinions in NOTES, I would merely say that I think you are looking too much to the surface and are not risking to experience the more fundamental issues being discussed. I take strength and confidence from the lines of the Editors in the last issue that say: "We agree that people who oppress others cannot expect to escape oppression." I interpret this to mean, as well, that any person who denies his or her existence in a world of other people *and* of nature *and who allows iniquity and destruction to continue if not prevail, has broken and denied that unspoken covenant we all share by merely being alive.*

Shawna Carboni
Brooklyn, New York

A Bi-Centennial Calendar

FRIENDS: In using and reading from the beautiful 1975 calendar, the thought came to me that native people ought to place special emphasis on the historical aspects of 1776, or the years between 1700-1800. With the presumptuous Bi-Centennial Celebration on our grandfathers' lands, we have no cause to rejoice or celebrate the pollution and desecration. The 200-years celebration will only bring grim reminders of the once large, proud sovereign nations that have passed into non-existence.

Can the 1976 calendar particularly speak to celebrants of the Bi-Centennial? I will try to add historical dates and hope others will do the same.

Josephine Wildcat Bigler
1414 North 27th St.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53208

[Readers are invited to send in calendar dates, particularly for peoples not adequately covered in the present calendar. 1975 calendars are still available for $3 postpaid — just the artwork, which can be cut off and framed, is worth the price, so don't worry even if it is already April. The Editors.]

To San Francisco Skins

BROTHERS: We are a new Indian Culture Group in the federal youth center here in Pleasanton, California. Our membership now is quite small — nine men and three women. We are looking for an outside sponsor here in the San Francisco Bay area. Send us more NOTES, too & may the Great Spirit protect you.
Jackson Redhorn
Box 366, Unit 1
Pleasanton, California 94566

[An article about Jackson Red Horn is on the Wounded Knee pages. The Editors.]

Keeping The Spirit In Front

FRIENDS: We would like to comment on the traditional native movement, specifically concerning the activities of NOTES/White Roots of Peace and AIM.

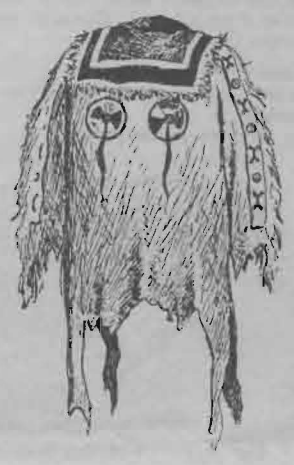
First, it might be relevant to explain our own situation. Our ancestors came from Europe. In other words, we are "white" people. We have been reared within the framework of European values. Unlike persons of Indian blood, our cultural background is not indigenous to North America. We have no historical land base on this continent; and we have not been economically oppressed (although we have been oppressed in every other way.)

We reject our heritage and the European values. Instead, we are devoted to living a natural life in accordance with the spiritual rhythm of this land. We were also born and nourished on the North American continent.

Therefore, we believe ourselves to be native Americans, and part of the traditional movement. If one accepts the idea, expressed by Juan Reyna in the last issue of NOTES, that "we are either natural people — or unnatural people", then our claim as part of the traditional movement is valid.

Since we have the same goals as NOTES/Roots and AIM, we would like to express some hopefully helpful criticism.

NOTES/Roots has been and is taking an excellent course of actio. Your goals are well-defined and clearly seen. The paper is informative, inspiring, and very much encourages a natural life. The last issue was especially good. The tours are equally as beneficial. (We had the opportunity of hearing Tom Porter speak in California about a year ago.) Your efforts to establish or re-establish tribal ways is a fine example for other native tribes as well as all other peoples. The actions of NOTES/Roots show a sincere effort to follow the ways of the Creator.



We believe that the American Indian Movement is also sincere in its efforts to return to the ways of the creator. However, their means of achieving this goal often obscures their real intentions. Instead of increasing spiritual awareness, AIM many times appears to be just another minority group struggling for European "civil rights" and a bigger piece of the economic pie. In other words, it appears to the majority of white society and many Indians also that AIM is using militancy to gain better education and jobs, and therefore more affluence, the same affluence that destroys the earth and natural cultures in North America and throughout the world.

We are not aware of all the circumstances involved, but we think part of AIM's problem is the priorities they set on their course of action. It seems their first priority is militant and political action, and then their next priority is the establishing of natural communities. An alternative set of priorities would be the exact opposite: educate members of the various tribes as to the beauty and sacredness of their old natural ways. In this way, the real goals will be more clearly defined and therefore organization will become easier. The second priority would be to take militant and political action, when necessary, for the purpose of accomplishing this re-establishment of natural communities. This is more like the course of action taken at Wounded Knee.

We realize that regardless of what course of action is taken, many people will never see the real struggle of the traditional native movement. [But a re-arrangement of priorities would mean] members of AIM would not become caught up in the militant/political aspect of the struggle, and therefore they would be less likely to lose sight of the real struggle to return to the natural and sacred ways.

Since we share the same struggle, we believe our criticism of AIM may have some validity. However, because we are struggling from within different circumstances (our European heritage), our perception of AIM's necessary actions may be lacking. For this reason we welcome any comments.

We are grateful to NOTES/Roots and the other traditionally-minded people for inspiring us and for sharing spiritual strength. We would also like to hear from people who might be interested in joining us in our struggle to establish a natural community here in Northern Wyoming.

Ken & Marty
317 Fifth Ave. N.
Greybull, Wyoming 82426

Oklahoma Brothers Request

NOTES: At Legington Corrections Center, the Indian men formed a club called the "Confined Inter-tribal Group", to retain their Indian identity. What they need most of all are materials for various Indian crafts. They would also like someone to write to them as pen pals. Let the people know that they are interested in penal reform in Oklahoma and elsewhere.

Orlin Webster 88351
Freddie Ahhaitty 87570
Freddie Beaver 80572
Johnny Carson 87600
Jimmy Chapman 96346
Steve Drunkard 95395
Tennyson Havry 88260
Ronald Klinekole 86816
Edward Leroy 82232
Thomas Lime 83372
Darrell Moore 88293
Ralph Oliver 88417
Paladine Roye 85003
Harold Spotted Bird 88243
Galen Tava 81102
Leonard Tolbert 88311
Raymon Webber 88331
Terry White Horse 87679
Dean White Tail 84708
James White Tail 87246
Paul Valer 83654
Route 1, Box 260
Lexington, Oklahoma 73051

Scholarship Fund Still Active

NOTES: This organization has been raising funds and making grants to Indian students in college and vocational schools in the San Francisco Bay area since 1970. During the first three years we were largely supported by one wealthy family, which has since become more interested in helping support Pyramid Lake Paiutes, Northern Cheyenne coal fight, etc.

I would still like to keep the organization going, because it has directly helped to keep many Indian students in school when they would have dropped out otherwise. Persons who can help should contact me.

Dean Chavers, President
Native American Scholarship Fund, Inc.
3180 Morris Drive
Palo Alto, California 94303

NOTES for Adult Education

NOTES: I am the only native teacher in an integrated Indian/non-Indian school where I am going to ask the reserve school committee to reprint parts of Tse-waa's article (page 3, last issue) and distribute them to every family on the reserve. This will be part of our adult education drive here.

Dennis Needup Stark
Truro, Nova Scotia

Apples in Every Basket

NOTES: Just wanted to send a brief note to express my appreciation for latest issue of NOTES — great issue. Especially want to comment two writers of letters, signed Owl Soldier and Unalaski Galagina. I agree with them 100% regarding fullblood, mixed-blood relationship. I think it is time that we made a stand — together — and not place so much emphasis on one's degree of native blood. After all, there are apples and Uncle Tomahawks in about every group, even as there are truly 100 percent native persons in sentiment in all groups.

Augustus Webb
Winston Salem, North Carolina

Keeping America's Myths Alive

NOTES: I'd like to draw your attention to the new Time-LifeHistory of the United States. *Vol. 1 describes all the warlike traits of which we are all so sick of hearing and refers to native Americans as savages.*

I have returned this book to its publisher with the following note: "I refuse to buy this book because it is racist. Native Americans were not and are not savages." I find it singularly ironic that persons of Western European descent who gave the world Sand Creek, Auschwitz, and the atomic bomb feel so able to apply the savage label to others. This book is being pushed as good educational material for the kiddies.

Ann Beuf
Paoli, Pennsylvania

Massacre: Victory/Progress: Flood

NOTES: There is much talk in the TV about the flooding in the U.S. by overflowing rivers. This is called a disaster. In the James Bay region in Canada, they are going to flood out 6,000 Cree. This is called progress.

Mr. and Mrs. Larry Seger
Oakley, Michigan 48649

Walrus Helps the Whales

NOTES: These next two months will find me aboard one of the Greenpeace vessels out in the North Pacific. Greenpeace Five plans to interfere with Soviet and Japanese whaling fleets in an attempt to keep people from wiping out Earth's remaining Whales.

If successful, a World Moratorium of at least ten years on Whale killing could help turn the tide leading to People control over coastlines and waterways. Hopefully this will extend to whole-hearted concern for every aspect of "development" — including oil tankers and pipelines — ultimately to reawakening wonder for the beauty of Earth and respect for all.

The launch of Greenpeace seems only part of a high-level energy characterizing West Coast People expression this season. After the Native People's Embassy burned to the ground in Ottawa, many of the founding caravan members returned westward to organize at grassroots levels throughout the interior of B.C. Already, Land Claims has emerged as an issue the Barrett Government cannot any longer throw back at the Canadian Government.

If the Vancouver Easter Be-In is reflective of where people are directing their energy and hopes this year, it looks as if more and more people are ready to build a new era (although there were several undercurrents of violence and frustration surfacing at the Be-In.) About three or four hundred native people attended the Be-In ceremonies at Prospect Point in Stanley Park, Vancouver, many sporting AIM insignia.

The need demonstrated by the Ottawa Native People's Embassy for Urban Native Survival and Communications/Cultural centres is being focused in Vancouver by such groups as the Pacific Indian Native Society, which is presently trying to round up support for adequate food and housing facilities for Indian People stranded in the streets of this city.

The Inter-Tribal Housing and Heritage Society, a branch of PINS, is located at 666 West 12th Ave., Vancouver. Monies donated to this group are tax deductible; its Societies Act Registration Number is 10918.

Several members of the first Native Peoples' Caravan hoped to paddle a 46-foot kayak out to meet the whales as part of Greenpeace "Project Ahab." Unfortunately, there have been several difficulties getting this trip together, and there is some doubt whether the kayak will even be constructed in time. The builder is presently paddling back to Alaska in a smaller version. Perhaps a fishing boat will join Greenpeace from one of the Native communities up the coast.

Although many of the participants appear in the media to be scientists or academics, in fact, there is a powerful spiritual bond directing this attempt to communicate with a Mind in the Water. Several musicians have created special flutes to play music with the Whales, others have met whales under rare circumstances and have even been given rides by the whales before.

So the task becomes one of convincing the Governments to cease mobilizing great fleets to exterminate not only whales, but all the living entities we share the Earth with. If people can remember that water and mountains and the wind are all filled with life, then we can turn again and meet at the centre of Creation in harmony once more. Keep up the good work.

Walrus Oakenbough
Greenpeace Foundation
2007 W. Fourth Ave.
Vancouver, B.C.

[Walrus Oakenbough oftens sends information to NOTES via Georgia Straight, a Vancouver alternate paper. Schools and organizations interested in helping the Greenpeace Foundation's Project Ahab can obtain further information at the above address. Walrus Oakenbough is working on an article for NOTES detailing Canadian involvement in the economic "development" of Mayan peoples in Guatemala, hopefully for the next issue. The editors.]

A Grandfather Speaks

NOTES: Your continued coverage is excellent and most significant.

Frank Waters
Taos, New Mexico

Or Mohawk Vodka/Tires/Carpets

NOTES: Even after "conquering" the native Americans, the European whites committed acts of disgrace and moral violations against The People. Insult was piled on insult. One of the biggest today is the use of Indian proper names in regard to commercial products.

Winnebago travel trailers is one of the most outstanding [examples]. What right have they to the name? It is the name of a people, a culture, a heritage. Each time I see it blur by my eyes on a highway, I could cry and spit at the same time. Winnebago is a name to make a people hold their heads high, not to be stamped on metal [to sell trailers].

To buy a Green Bay Packer or Miami Dolphin shirt for a child, the shirt and symbol and colors of the teams are approved and licensed by the NFL. I'm sure they get something out of it financially. But what about the names and symbols of native American nations?

Jan Jacoby
Clayton, Wisconsin

Museum of the American Indian Replies to Charges

NOTES: Recently, you published a brief commentary based upon a news release from the American Indian Press Association News Service concerning the Museum of the American Indian. In it were various charges concerning the administration of the museum and certain de-accessioning policies, all compiled by Suzan Harjo of the AIPA.

A request to have our side of the matter also presented, addressed to the [executive director of the AIPA] has gone unanswered; therefore, I am writing to you [asking] that you publish it in AKWESASNE NOTES. Many of the charges in that release are not true, and I feel it is only fair to have some explanation provided for your readers. You have done a fine service in the past in the interests of informing our Indian people, and I am confident that you will want to continue to maintain the same balance in the present instance.

In part, I resent having to take the time to reply to [accusations] of such irresponsible nature, but I feel that the record must be corrected. Those who know us are well aware that our efforts have all been completely devoted to the interests of developing a better knowledge of Native American culture, and a more complete understanding between Indian and non-Indian populations. In this effort, I firmly believe we have always taken the Indian point of view.

We are being investigated, yes — and the matter of accession vs. de-accession is a part of this inquiry. Much of the argument concerning this rests on a matter of opinion as to just what a museum is, what the needs are for a specialized institution of our type, and to what audience the work of the museum is — and should be — directed. I believe that I have improved the Museum collections by these exchanges; others may not. I will stand upon my actions as having been ithe best public interest, for both Indian and non-Indian alike.

No specimens have ever been disposed of while on loan, to my knowledge. The only losses via loaning have been an occasional theft or damage loss. No dealers have ever been allowed to "go shopping" during my tenure. In fact, we rarely permit dealers or collectors access to the study collections.

No records have been altered to affect the values of any exchange. The matter of museum investment policy is the responsibility of the Finance Committee of the Board; I cannot comment upon this. No trustee has ever been permitted to acquire de-accessioned objects under any arrangement other than by open sale over the counter of the Museum Shop.

Our storage is well-maintained; I am proud of the work of the curatorial staff there.

Yes, we do have scalps. They are presented as a normal part of Indian war customs, and a valid inclusion in any exhibition of Indian warfare; we also show how these were used as part of the trophy lust of white people. As for skeletons, during my tenure, all of them have been removed from display and are properly taken care of; I wholly agree with those who feel that skeletons are not helpful in a Museum display of our type. While we do have a mummified woman from Chile on exhibit, to indicate prehistoric embalming techniques, I do not regard this as insulting.

As for the truth of [Parke-Bernet] sale of the wampum belts, Harjo completely neglected to point out that I personally contacted the Seneca people to advise them of the impending sale of the False Faces and the wampum belts, so that they could act in their own self-interest.

In short, I feel that most of these errors could readily have been corrected by a personal interview, had Harjo really been concerned about accuracy. None of the quotations attributed to me relate to any personal conversation; we had an appointment for such an interview but she never showed up. I feel this lack of accuracy keenly, for I believe that our efforts to represent Indian culture to a non-Indian community require all the help we can get. It does not help to have poor reporting and deliberate distortion only increase these problems. There has already been far too much factionalism dividing the Indian world, and weakening our people — it is regrettable that this same attitude seems reflected in the AIPA article.

Frederick J. Dockstader, Director
Museum of the American Indian
Heye Foundation
New York, New York

Educating the Anthros

NOTES: I want to thank Ryan White Feather, who expressed in his letter [last issue] his disgust with anthropologists who persist in referring to native Americans as "Indians", for reminding us anthropologists not to do so. In my opinion, there is little value and some harm in perpetuating this absurd misnomer.

As a teaching anthropologist, I (and presumably many of my colleagues) try to remember to use the designation "Native American" since this is both more accurately descriptive, and also seems to be the term of preference by those referred to.

In regard to Ryan White Feather's complaint that he is "fed up with just about all of the anthropological conclusions, findings, experiments, etc., of the original or native American," I hope that he has considered, or will consider, what he as an individual could do to improve this situation. The most immediate in its effect is to speak out in class. The best-intentioned anthropologist slips into ethnocentricity at times, and believe it or not, many teachers welcome the feedback that minority students could supply if they would. (I realize that this may be emotionally very hard to do, but suggest that it may be worth it.) Further, it is one of the very best ways to help educate non-native American students who are usually abysmally ignorant about other points of view than their own. I suspect that many minority students become discouraged and drop out — they should *speak* out instead. Not everyone will listen, but some of us will.

Another, and potent, way of affecting what anthropologists think, say, write, and otherwise do, would be to become one. There are yearly many teaching positions which go unfilled partly because there are few anthropology majors who are members of minorities, including native Americans. This is clearly anthropology's loss — might it not be yours, too?

The major aim of anthropology is to come to understand our own human nature through its sociocultural variety, to which native North American past and present history valuably contributes, among the contributions of many cultures. Surely this is a goal that should not be construed as benefitting some peoples and not others. If this sort of benefit has been unequally spread, it is partly because anthropologists have failed to adequately publicize their findings among non-academic audiences/readers.

I would welcome the responses of native American and other readers.

Judy Brueske
University of Arkansas
425 Holtz Hall
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701

The Bile-Centennial

NOTES: In regards to the upcoming 200th anniversary of the U.S. Government, I wholeheartedly agree with Lillian Peterson [vol 6. no. 6. letters] on the non-participation of all American Indians in this celebration.

After all 200 years of brutal inhuman massacres, extermination of whole tribes, termination, exploitation, it would not be human to participate in celebrating that anniversary. I remind all peoples of the Great Red Race not to degrade and humiliate yourself by participating in this celebration.

Teardrop Clanton
Longwood, Florida

Another Grandfather Speaks

NOTES: This is one of the finest Indian papers I have ever received. All of your poems are of interest to me.

Karl Menninger, M.D.
Menninger Foundation
Topeka, Kansas 66601

A Dance-Benefit for NOTES

NOTES: As a result of our dance on April 18, we were able to raise $175 for your newspaper. We certainly hope that this money will help to keep your newspaper running.

Kim Stauch, FHA Rep.
Avon High School
Avon, Connecticut

Occasionally we receive unsigned letters which we hesitate to print. One letter received proposed having all native people meet at the United Nations headquarters nextNovember 27, American Thanksgiving Day, for a rally. While occasionally we do publish an unsigned letter, usually we do not. Please include your name and address in writing, and if you wish your name withheld, just say so. The editors.

Mormons Are Our Friends?

BRETHREN: Generally, I'm sympathetic to the views of the Indian. However, being a Mormon, it bothers me when [NOTES] levels sharp and unjust criticism against the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on racial issues.

History will prove that we are not a racial or prejudicial church and people. Our actions have also borne this out. We have always considered the Indians to be a blessed people with a divine heritage. We believe their future to be also bright. American Indians are of the House of Israel. The Book of Mormon testifies of this fact. If you doubt this, why not read the book. I have read it and will tell you and all your readers that it is true. The Book of Mormon records the visit of Jesus Christ to these people here in the Americas. He appeared to the more righteous Nephite and Lamanite (Indians) people in the re-surrected form just after his crucification and taught them his gospel. This occurred in 34 A.D. (see 3 Nephi 11-26 in the Book of Mormon.)

Further, our prohpet, Spencer W. Kimball, has on numerous occasions expressed his love and great concern for the welfare of the Indians. Look into his record. Much of his life and effort has been in behalf of the Indian cause. Most Mormons consider the Indians as their brother and friend.

On the whole, I would think that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has done more for the Indians than any other Christian church. We have treated them as our equals (certainly not lower) and helped them grow in self-esteem and dignity. Our many church programs include the Indian in all of its phases. As you might know, the Mormon church is the fastest growing Christian church in Central and South America. Why is this? I would say it has much to offer the Indian people as well as all others in those countries and other countries throughout the world.

Finally, the Mormon people have much in common with the Indians. We have both suffered much affliction and persecution at the hand of "the enemy." The Mormons had to flee the Midwest and seek protection in the mountain valleys of Utah. The Indian persecution, of course, was more widespread and continues in many areas today.

Therefore, please be more aware that Mormons are your friend, and in general, are sympathetic to your cause as you seek peace, equality, and freedom.

Dr. Robert Stones
Hancock, Michigan

Listening To Our Drums

NOTES: Tecumseh once said, "The only way to check and stop this evil, is for all the Redmen to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land." We know these words to be true. We must stand together as one. We must fight each other's battles, for as one we are much stronger.

When there is an Indian occupation anywhere, and the drums are heard at these places, the Indian people should gather in all cities and let the drums be heard everywhere. We must show the government that Indian people all over, whether we are reservation, off-reservation, full-blood, or mixed blood, stand together guided by the Great Spirit who will give us the strength to overcome the problems of our people.

Linda Rhea
Lee's Summit, Missouri

For Under-tree Reading

NOTES: I especially enjoy your back page. What feeling and deep thought goes into those often eloquent and beautiful writings, and how pathetic some of the situations the writers find themselves in! One cannot read without being moved. NOTES is my bible – I cannot read it without feeling closer to our Great Spirit. It is best read sitting under a tree somewhere quiet.

Dan Bogan
Rochester, New Hampshire

Remembering Our Brothers

NOTES: We have a native arts & crafts class run with materials donated by brothers & sisters from outside this institution. We have had a lot of promises, both verbal and written, for instructions and materials, and we have only developed patience that we have learned by being incarcerated. What we have gotten is only sufficient for a small amount of time, so that what we teach may be forgotten by the time we are ready for next lessons. Contact us if you can.

Jim Marks, Chairman
American Indian Culture Group
POBox 841
Corona, California 91720

Winning Hearts and Minds

NOTES: Hang in there – it'll pay off. There's a lot more people on your side than you sometimes realize – they just don't know how or where to help. Be patient but persistent and keep up the good work.

Joe Gilvary
Lexington, Kentucky

NOTES: Thanks for the good work you do, and particularly the fine issue on Guatemala.

I too journey to that sacred land last year during which I spent six months living in the campo with my Cakchiquel friends. I was deeply touched by several articles written by those of you who were in Guatemala. You so ably put into words many of the amazing experiences and emotions that that land is for the open hearted traveller.

As a white male North American, I find myself searching for roots that do not lie in the realm of my cultural past. I have to break completely with the ways into which I was born, because those ways are not justifiable politically, socially, intellectually, emotionally. Guatemala taught me that. My reaction has been to search the realm of the political, as such is the predilection of my culture.

Marxism provides certain comforts through its rational scientific explanation of all we see around us. It is a framework that allows for a creative sanity in urban USA. Marxism bridges the tremendous gap between the life into which I was born and the life I must now lead.

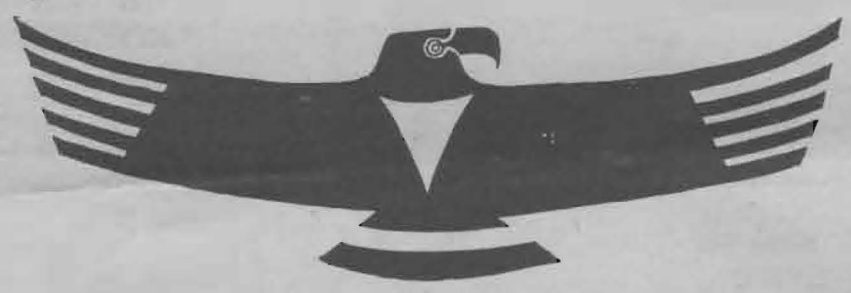
Yet, as I read that issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, I was again reminded that explanations, interpretations, goals, and even the impetus to political action do not form the essence of what natural Mayan peoples have to teach. They made me realize that indeed, we are spiritual beings, no matter how much our culture denies it. Marxism, too, seems to direct us away from all that cannot be scientifically defined as "objective reality", and as such, is a denial of much that I need to satisfy my soul.

Guatemala turned me to Marxism and forced me to guide my ways so as to best serve political struggle. But this was simply the way my gringo head was able to interpret an experience far too vast to be incorporated into a North American's lifestyle without long, hard changes. To be political is essential for gringos, but it is only the beginning.

Indeed, I appreciate the sensitivity with which you approached cross-cultural contact. That is something so many visitors to Guatemala lack. I thank you on behalf of the people you did not offend.

To facilitate communication between natural peoples of the North and South is an extremely valuable political task today. Matyox uk chawe! T'ab ana Iswenta awi! (Thank you – go well!)

Mark Fried
Roxbury, Massahusetts



Lawrence Lazore, 47, died of natural causes April 8 in his home in Hogansburg, N.Y. He had been an elected trustee for the St. Regis Indian Reservation after his discharge from the U.S. Navy in 1968, after 26 years service. He was active in the development of the Upward Bound and teacher training programs at St. Lawrence University.

●

Nowendonah, a direct descendant of the great Shinnecock chief who greeted the first white settlers on Long Island's South Fork in 1640, passed into the Spirit World in April. She taught generations of Shinnecock children in a one-room schoolhouse on the reservation in New York, and as the tribal historian, she also lectured at colleges and wrote sensitive poetry about her people. Through her efforts, a real estate developer who had started construction on ten homes on part of the remaining 400 acres of land the Shinnecocks have left was removed by the state supreme court. She taught – now her children who learned will carry on.

●

Grandma Millie Queahpama was returned to the earth in early May after 107 years of life. She died where she was born – the small village of Simnasho on the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon. Her father was a leader of her people, and she worked constantly to keep the religion ways strong. Although she knew English, she spoke only the language given to her by the Creator. Although she could have bought clothing at the store, she wore traditional dress. Throughout her life she had the memory of warfare against her people set in her mind – she lived her life never sitting with her back to a door or window "lest a white man sneak up behind." She has set a good path for us, her grandchildren, to follow.

●

Maurice Ledeaux, who fought to defend his people in the Indian way and joined battle in the courts against the Government's prosecution of the survivors of Wounded Knee, is remembered as a dear friend and warrior for his people. He passed into the spirit world September 21, 1974. Grandfather, take the spirit of this young warrior because it is yours, because he stood up for the rights of his Indian people. Mitakuye owasin.

●

Friends and family still mourn the loss last autumn of Saxon Z. Marsh, a Piscataway grandson of Wahacasso, prominent in Maryland history in the 1630s. Saxon Marsh was well known in automobile track racing as a driver and master mechanic. He drove Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Inaugural Parade when he became governor of New York. He equalled the time record in cross-country driving from New York to Los Angeles.

NOTES: We need more outside participation from our people. Our chiefs have done their best for us, and we know that they will keep doing so. But when the soul and spirit has to fight so hard to be free of the prison walls, it is good to see that our people know us. We would all like to correspond with our brothers and sisters around the world to share our thoughts and the many things that make us smile every day.

Here, if you want to hear Bob Dylan, you order a tape and you get it. If you want to hear anything Indian, you never see the tape. It arrives and vanishes. The same with tobacco or posters. With the new laws that they are trying to enforce, we will lose our books. We need the same things any other religious group has: our own space, our personal storage, and place for our meetings.

We wonder why they fear our way of life, our culture. Can it be because after all of their efforts to destroy us, to beat us to our knees and refuse us our pride and respect for ourselves, we stand tall and more and more we grow. As we return to the old ways, the stronger our people become. We are a nation. We in prison perhaps know more than you who feel you are free, that we need the support of each and everyone of us. We are one people.

Blackhawk San Carlos
Indian Cultural Awareness Program
Auburn State Prison
Auburn, New York 13021

Contacting Native Veterans

NOTES: I am interested in contacting Native American veterans. I am co-chairperson of the Holyoke Community College Veteran's Club. Our club supports one policy and concept: helping veterans and no political policies.

It is the duty of those who destroy to help recreate, especially that which our fathers had done. Our debt is great. I, as a vet, want to know how, when and where veterans can come together to help one another, especially to restore the culture of native peoples, preserve the lands, protect the rights, and draw public attention and support for native American needs and injustices. Where do we start? What can we do? We are not native peoples – we need brother and sister native veterans to advise us.

Brian R. Hoose
456 Maple St.
Holyoke, Massachusetts 01040

Not Anti-White-Folks

NOTES: I am from Winnipeg, Manitoba. I'm 26 years old, and have served 25 months of a 22 year sentence which I received after a bank robbery. I was brought up in the very heart of the slums of the city. Everyone was on welfare, and we all wore our running shoes until they fell off. I went to school and reform school, jail, and the penitentiary in Manitoba with Cree, Saulteaux and Assiniboines. Now in Saskatchewan Pen, I have met Blackfoot, Chippewa, and Bloods.

I have studied the history of my people intensely. I have seen how the Hudson's Bay Company robbed the people starting in 1670. Mormons robbed the Blood and Peigans of much land in northern Montana and southern Alberta. The Hudson's Bay acted in the name of the Queen, and the Mormons in the name of God.

I know what was done to great men like Chief Joseph and Crazy Horse. I know of these shameful things done in the name of the President of the U.S.A. And I also know the feelings I have for every atrocity committed and every theft of land and broken treaty. And I know also that these things still go on today, only with more subtlety and finesse.

So I take great exception when I read a letter in NOTES saying NOTES is anti-white. Anti-white establishment power structure etc., yes! But not anti-white folks. Remember, Cochise was a great man, and his best friend was a white man, a mailman by the name of Jeffords. It's where your heart, courage and honor lies that counts.

Alan Dunn 3970
Box 160
Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

Attention, Wisconsin People!

NOTES: Currently the Native American Indian Group at the Wisconsin Correctional Institution is in the initial planning stages of getting it together as a group. Our group covers all areas of humanitarian efforts toward individual and collective advancement. We do these things from our viewpoint, and with our own people and for our own people.

Like all groups that are getting it together, we have to start with nothing. Now we are in urgent need of leather and beadwork materials to work on dance costumes, leatherwork and beadwork. We need outside help, because this prison administration is not going to help us. Once we get some material to work with, we can sell the finished products and use the proceeds for the group to buy more materials and better tools to work with. Eventually, we will establish a fund for all of our people who are getting released.

We need outside support and a voice to break down [administrative] barriers which prevent us from helping one another. We want to work to keep our people out of these Wisconsin prisons. But there is a lack of outside interest by the Wisconsin Indian organizations. All these groups come in here – but they don't do anything for us. They don't provide us with any representation when we go up for parole, or when we go up for a transfer to the Wisconsin Correctional Camp System. They come in and talk good, but that's as far as it goes, and the promises they usually make, they usually forget about.

Well, we're done with all that – now we are taking the initiative to appeal to other sources for assistance. There are some very talented individuals in here and unless we can get something going soon, no one will be able to enjoy the end product of that talent. There is a lot we can accomplish once we get out of this rut. We've got unity here which is half the battle.

I hope this letter will be published in its entirety cause we want people to know that if they don't help us, something will be done about it. Many of us helped them while we were out in any way we could, but now they won't help us. They always say they aren't funded for the help we ask for. We urgently need donations of leather and other beadwork materials so we can get off the ground and start doing things for ourselves. All donations can be sent to the following person:

David A. Johnson, Social Service Supvr.
For Indian Group
Box 147
Fox Lake, Wisconsin 53933

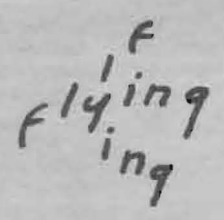
Dave Johnson is our group coordinator and he gets many things done for us where no one else even has a concern for us.

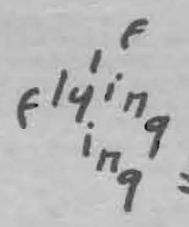
Dan Alan Brown
Box 147
Fox Lake, Wisconsin 53933

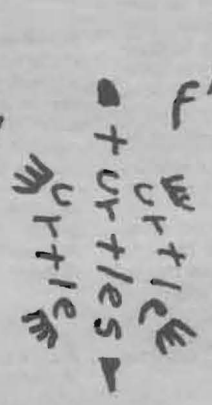
poetry •••

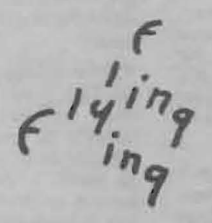
in the WILD

WARNING!
Program for the Experimental Use of the Sodium Cyanide Spring Loaded Ejector Mechanism for Predator Control in the State of Idaho. Keep pets and children out of area.
DANGER coyote.-getter









White Buffalo Cow Woman

LIFE

White Buffalo Cow Woman
Spirit power of earth and sky
Flying eagle, buffalo and sacred pipe
You are life's breath in my Great Vision.

WISDOM

White Buffalo Cow Woman
Inspiration and center of my universe
Possessor of my soul and companion of my mind
Your powerful medicine sustains me.

PEACE

White Buffalo Cow Woman
I walk in harmony with the earth
I walk in harmony with everything alive
In peace I walk because of you.

BEAUTY

White Buffalo Cow Woman
I walk in harmong with everything beautiful
I walk in harmony with you
In beauty I walk because of you.

LOVE

Oh! Grandfather, Great Spirit
Hear my cry with tears of joy
Thank you for the sacred Buffalo Cow Woman
Without whom the world does not make sense.

Wakan Tanka *Pikicilaka.*
Wakan Ptesan Winyan *Wastecilaka*

– Leo E. Oliva

– blue cloud

For A Child

Circle the mountain gently
for the mountain is gentle
think of the open valley
on the other side
think through the mountain
of the open valley on the other side
there may be danger there
or hurt in that open place

think in a circle
around this gentle mountain
and soon the mountain
will become as crystal
and you will see the open valley
through the crystal mountain
and all the truth of mountain
and valley will be yours

and circle the mountain gently
and gently enter
that peaceful valley
where the crystal's heart
has its lodge.

– blue cloud

Jethro

The wolf who was
born in man's righteous
ways. Who lived in one's
life never to run free.
Who got rewards and
honors, and worked for
his brothers who get
killed by planes, traps, or
poison, who went on
tour and learned to
trust and respect man
and his ways. Who
had children of all
ages come and love
him. Who was so
friendly that he let
an insane woman kill
him and his friend,
another wolf, Clem.

– vgl '74

Washakie

When Bureau of Indian Affairs officials proposed truck farming as a way of life for the Shoshone in the late 19th century, Washakie, disgusted with the idea, said: "Goddam a potato."

What has died?
What has gone out of our lives?
Where is the wind and why has the rain died?

Our daughters paint their lips enemy red.
Our sons collect coins like bankers.
Our Fathers' lives in us are dead.

We look for easy food like coyote.
We look for lumber-built lodges with soft beds.
We look for machine-made coats.

Women grind corn into meal
Warriors count coup.
These you cannot steal.

We are wolves, wolves.

Goddam a potato!

Garland Strother

coyote

it is you my brother
trapped in living death
it is you my brother
your eyes grasp at the
bars of your cage

do you remember my brother
your chilling hunting song?
ah do you remember my brother
your sweet spirit hunting song?

coyote

it is you my brother
trapped in living death
it is you my brother
your eyes grasp at the
bars of your cage

do you remember my brother
your chilling hunting song?
ah do you remember my brother
your sweet spirit hunting song?

it is you my brother
your life is taken away
do you see my eyes?
i am trapped outside the
bars of your cage

do you remember my brother
our endless steaming desert?
i can remember my brother
when roads did not interrupt
our hunt

i want to free you brother
we could both be free together
i want to free you my brother
but there is no place to go

see me now blood brother
trapped in separate death
here we stand my brother
our eyes grasp at the

bars of our cage

– pineapple